THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(DESIGNED AS A CONTINUATION OF MR. HUME'S HISTORY.)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

VOLUME III.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND; AND R. BALDWIN,
NO. 47, IN PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

M DCC XCVI.

1747

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE REVOLUTION

TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER VI.

§ I. *The Russians take Oczakow.* § II. *Death of Gascon de Medicis, Duke of Tuscany.* § III. *Death of Caroline, Queen consort of England.* § IV. *Dispute in Parliament about the standing army.* § V. *Spanish depredations.* § VI. *Motives of the minister for avoiding a war.* § VII. *Address to the King on the subject of the depredations.* § VIII. *Bill for securing the trade of his Majesty's subjects in America.* § IX. *Debates in the House of Lords.* § X. *Birth of Prince George. Admiral Haddock sails with a squadron to the Mediterranean.* § XI. *Progress of the war against the Turks.* § XII. *Dispute and rupture between Hanover and Denmark.* § XIII. *Sir Robert Walpole extols the convention in the House of Commons.* § XIV. *Motion for an address, that the representations, letters, &c. relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the House* § XV.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI...

Petitions against the convention. § XVI. *Substance of that agreement* § XVII. *Debate in the House of Commons on the convention.* § XVIII. *Secession of the chief members in the opposition.* § XIX. *Debate in the House of Lords upon an address to his Majesty touching the convention.* § XX. *Message from the throne touching a subsidy to Denmark, and a power to augment the forces of the kingdom.* § XXI. *Parliament prorogued.* § XXII. *The King of Spain publishes a manifesto.* § XXIII. *The Emperor and Czarina conclude a peace with the Turks.* § XXIV. *Preparations for war in England.* § XXV. *Apology in the House of Commons for the seceding members.* § XXVI. *Pension-bill revived, and lost.* § XXVII. *Porto-Bello taken by Admiral Vernon.* § XXVIII. *Hard frost.* § XXIX. *Marriage of the Princess Mary to the Prince of Hesse.* § XXX. *Strong armament sent to the West-Indies.* § XXXI. *Death of the Emperor and Czarina.* § XXXII. *Proceedings in Parliament.* § XXXIII. *Seamen's bill.* § XXXIV. *Discontents against the ministry.* § XXXV. *Motion for removing Sir Robert Walpole from his Majesty's councils and presence for ever.* § XXXVI. *Debate on the mutiny bill.* § XXXVII. *Proceedings in the House of Lords.* § XXXVIII. *Close of the last session of this Parliament.*

BOOK II. 1737.

§ I. A Congress had been opened at Niemerow in Poland, to compromise the differences between the Czarina and the Grand Signor: but this proving ineffectual, the Emperor declared war against the Turks, and demanded assistance from the diet of the empire. He concerted the operations of the campaign with the Empress of Muscovy. It was agreed that the Imperialists, under Count Seckendorf should attack Widin in Servia, while the Russians, commanded by Count de Munich, should penetrate to the Ukraine, and besiege Oczakow, on the Boristhenes. They accordingly advanced against this

this place, which was garriſoned by twenty thouſand men; and on the ſide of the Boriſthenes defended by eighteen gallies. The Muſcovites carried on their approaches with ſuch impetuoſity and perſeverance, that the Turks were terrified at their valour, and in a few days capitulated. Among thoſe who ſignaliſed themſelves by uncommon marks of prowеſs in theſe attacks, was General Keith, now Field-marſhal in the Pruſſian ſervice, who was dangerouſly wounded on this occaſion. Meanwhile Count Seckendorf, finding it impoſſible to reduce Widin without a ſquadron of ſhips on the Danube, turned his arms againſt Niſſa, which was ſurrendered to him on the eight-and-twentieth day of July: but this was the fartheſt verge of his good fortune. The Turks attacked the poſt which the Imperialiſts occupied along the Danube. They took the fort of Padudil, burned the town of Ilas in Wallachia, and plundered the neighbouring villages. The Prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, who had inveſted Bagnalack in Boſnia, was defeated, and obliged to repaſs the Saave. Count Seckendorf was recalled to Vienna; and the command of the army devolved upon Count Philippi. Count Kevenhuller was obliged to retreat from Servia; and Niſſa was retaken by the Muſſulmen. The conferences at Niemerow were broken off; and the Turkiſh Plenipotentiaries returned to Conſtantinople.

CHAP. VI. 1737.

§ II. The kingdom of Poland now enjoyed the moſt perfect repoſe under the dominion of Auguſtus. Ferdinand, the old Duke of Courland, dying without iſſue, the ſucceſſion was diſputed by the Teutonick order and the kingdom of Poland, while the States of Courland claimed a right of election, and ſent deputies to Peterſburgh, imploring the protection of the Czarina. A body of Ruſſian troops immediately entered that country: and the States elected the Count de Biron, High-Chamberlain to the Empreſs of Muſcovy. The Elector of Cologn, as Grand

BOOK II. 1737. Grand-master of the Teutonick order, protested against this election; but the King of Poland agreed to it, on certain conditions settled at Dantzick with the commissaries of the new Duke and those of the Czarina. In the month of July, John Gaston de Medicis, Great Duke of Tuscany, died at Florence; and the Prince de Craon took possession of his territories, in the name of the Duke of Lorraine, to whom the Emperor had already granted the eventual investiture of that duchy.

§ III. In England, the attention of the publick was attracted by an open breach in the royal family. The Princess of Wales had advanced to the very last month of her pregnancy before the King and Queen were informed of her being with child. She was twice conveyed from Hampton-Court to the palace of St. James's, when her labour-pains were supposed to be approaching; and at length was delivered of a princess in about two hours after her arrival. The King being apprised of this event, sent a message by the Earl of Essex to the Prince, expressing his displeasure at the conduct of his Royal Highness, as an indignity offered to himself and the Queen. The Prince deprecated his Majesty's anger in several submissive letters, and implored the Queen's mediation. The Princess joined her entreaties to those of his Royal Highness: but all their humility and supplication proved ineffectual. The King, in another message sent by the Duke of Grafton, observed, that the Prince had removed the Princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of his Majesty's residence, in expectation of her labour; and both times, on his return, industriously concealed from the knowledge of the King and Queen every circumstance relating to this important affair: that at last, without giving any notice to their Majesties, he had precipitately hurried the Princess from Hampton-Court, in a condition not to be named: that the whole tenour of

of his conduct, for a considerable time, had been so entirely void of all real duty to the King, that his Majesty had reason to be highly offended with him. He gave him to understand, that until he should withdraw his regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behaviour to his Majesty and the Queen, and return to his duty, he should not reside in the palace: he, therefore, signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the Princess. In obedience to this order the Prince retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his Majesty's favour, which, however, he could not retrieve. Whatever might have been his design in concealing so long from the King and Queen the pregnancy of the Princess, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place in such a condition, to the manifest hazard of her life, his Majesty had certainly cause to be offended at this part of his conduct; though the punishment seems to have been severe, if not rigorous; for he was not even admitted into the presence of the Queen his mother, to express his duty to her, in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her last blessing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the twentieth day of November in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a Princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue.

§ IV. The King opened the session of Parliament on the twenty-fourth day of January, with a short speech recommending the dispatch of the publick business with prudence and unanimity. Each House presented a warm address of condolence on the Queen's death, with which he seemed to be extremely affected. Though the House of Commons unanimously sympathised with the King in his affliction, the minister still met with contradiction in some

BOOK II. 1737. ſome of his favourite meaſures. One would imagine that all the arguments for and againſt a ſtanding army in time of peace had been already exhauſted; but, when it was moved that the ſame number of land-forces which they had voted in the preceding year ſhould be continued in pay for the enſuing year, the diſpute was renewed with ſurpriſing vivacity, and produced ſome reaſons which had not been ſuggeſted before. The adherents of the miniſter fairly owned, that if the army ſhould be diſbanded, or even conſiderably reduced, they believed the Tory intereſt would prevail: that the preſent number of forces was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the peace of the kingdom, which was filled with clamour and diſcontent, as well as to ſupport the Whig intereſt; and that they would vote for keeping up four times the number, ſhould it be found expedient for that purpoſe. The members in the oppoſition replied, that this declaration was a ſevere ſatire on the miniſtry, whoſe conduct had given birth to ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent. They ſaid it was in effect a tacit acknowledgement, that what they called the Whig intereſt was no more than an inconſiderable party, which had engroſſed the adminiſtration by indirect methods; which acted contrary to the ſenſe of the nation; and depended for ſupport upon a military power, by which the people in general were overawed, and conſequently enſlaved. They affirmed, that the diſcontent of which the miniſtry complained was in a great meaſure owing to that very ſtanding army, which perpetuated their taxes, and hung over their heads as the inſtruments of arbitrary power and oppreſſion. Lord Polwarth explained the nature of Whig principles, and demonſtrated that the party which diſtinguiſhed itſelf by this appellation, no longer retained the maxims by which the Whigs were originally characteriſed. Sir John Hynde Cotton, who ſpoke with the courage and freedom of an old Engliſh Baron, declared,

declared, he never knew a member of that House, who acted on true Whig principles, vote for a standing army in time of peace, "I have heard of "Whigs (said he) who opposed all unlimited votes "of credit: I have heard of Whigs who looked "upon corruption as the greatest curse that could "befall any nation: I have heard of Whigs who "esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most "valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial "Parliaments as the greatest bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a Whig administration "which has resented injuries done to the trade of "the nation, and revenged insults offered to the "British flag."—The ministry triumphed as usual, and the same number of forces was continued.

CHAP. VI.

1737.

§ V. Ever since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had almost incessantly insulted and distressed the commerce of Great-Britain. They disputed the right of English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortugas; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the treaties which had been lately concluded between the two nations. The Captains of their armed vessels, known by the name of guarda-costas, had made a practice of boarding and plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities, on which occasions they had behaved with the utmost insolence, cruelty, and rapine. Some of their ships of war had actually attacked a fleet of English merchant-ships at the island of Tortugas, as if they had been at open enmity with England. They had seized and detained a great number of British vessels, imprisoned their crews, and confiscated their cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common justice and humanity. Repeated memorials were presented to the Court of Spain, by the British Ambassador at Madrid. He was amused with evasive answers, vague promises of enquiry, and cedulas of instructions sent

BOOK II. 1737. to the Spanish Governors in America, to which they paid no sort of regard. Not but that the Spaniards had reason to complain, in their turn, of the illicit commerce which the English traders from Jamaica and other islands carried on with their subjects on the continent of South-America: though this could not justify the depredations and cruelties which the commanders of the guarda-costas had committed, without provocation or pretence.

§ VI. The merchants of England loudly complained of these outrages, the nation was fired with resentment, and cried for vengeance; but the minister appeared cold, phlegmatick, and timorous. He knew that a war would involve him in such difficulties as must of necessity endanger his administration. The treasure which he now employed for domestick purposes, must in that case be expended in military armaments: the wheels of that machine on which he had raised his influence would no longer move: the opposition would of consequence gain ground, and the imposition of fresh taxes, necessary for the maintenance of the war, would fill up the measure of popular resentment against his person and ministry. Moved by these considerations, he industriously endeavoured to avoid a rupture, and to obtain some sort of satisfaction by dint of memorials and negociations, in which he betrayed his own fears to such a degree, as animated the Spaniards to persist in their depredations, and encouraged the Court of Madrid to disregard the remonstrances of the British Ambassador. But this apprehension of war did not proceed from Spain only: the two branches of the House of Bourbon were now united by politicks, as well as consanguinity; and he did not doubt that in case of a rupture with Spain, they would join their forces against Great-Britain. Petitions were delivered to the House by merchants from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violences to which they had been exposed, and imploring

ploring relief of the Parliament. These were referred to a committee of the whole House; and an order was made to admit the petitioners, if they should think fit, to be heard by themselves or by counsel. Sir John Barnard moved for an address to the King, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the House; and this, with some alteration proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, was actually presented. In compliance with the request, an enormous multitude of letters and memorials was produced.

CHAP. VI. 1737.

§ VII. The House, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the merchants, and examine evidence; by which it appeared that amazing acts of wanton cruelty and injustice had been perpetrated by Spaniards on the subjects of Great-Britain. Mr. Pulteney expatiated upon these circumstances of barbarity. He demonstrated, from treaties, the right of the British traders to the logwood of Campeachy, and to the salt of Tortugas: he exposed the pusillanimity of the minister, and the futility of his negociations: he moved for such resolutions as would evince the resentment of an injured nation, and the vigour of a British Parliament. These were warmly combated by Sir Robert Walpole, who affirmed, they would cramp the ministers in their endeavours to compromise these differences: that they would frustrate their negociations, entrench upon the King's prerogative, and precipitate the nation into an unnecessary and expensive war. Answers produced replies, and a general debate ensued. A resolution was reported; but the question being put for recommitting it, was carried in the negative. The House, however, agreed to an address, beseeching his Majesty to use his endeavours to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects, to convince the Court of Spain that his Majesty could no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on, to the dishonour of his crown, and to the ruin

BOOK II. 1737. ruin of his trading ſubjects; and aſſuring him, that in caſe his Royal and friendly inſtances with the Catholick King ſhould miſcarry, the Houſe would effectually ſupport his Majeſty in taking ſuch meaſures as honour and juſtice ſhould make it neceſſary for him to purſue. To this addreſs the King made a favourable anſwer.

An. 1738. § VIII. The next important ſubject on which both ſides exerciſed their talents, was a bill prepared and brought in by Mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual ſecuring the trade of his Majeſty's ſubjects in America. This was no other than the revival of part of two acts paſſed in the reign of Queen Anne, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was veſted in the captors: while the Sovereign was empowered to grant commiſſions or charters to any perſons or ſocieties, for taking any ſhips, goods, harbours, lands, or fortifications of the nation's enemies in America, and for holding and enjoying the ſame as their own property and eſtate for ever. The miniſtry endeavoured to evade the diſcuſſion of this bill, by amuſing the Houſe with other buſineſs, until an end ſhould be put to the ſeſſion. A mean artifice was practiſed with this view; and ſome ſevere altercation paſſed between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney. At length the bill was read, and gave riſe to a very long and warm conteſt, in which the greateſt orators of both ſides found opportunities to diſplay their eloquence and ſatire. Mr. Pulteney defended the bill with all the ardour of paternal affection; but, notwithſtanding his warmeſt endeavours, it was rejected upon a diviſion.

§ IX. When the mutiny-bill was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, a long debate aroſe upon the number of troops voted for the enſuing year. Lord Carteret explained the ſituation of affairs, in almoſt every nation of Europe, with great conciſeneſs and preciſion. He demonſtrated the improbability of a rup-

a rupture between Great-Britain and any power against which a land army could be of any ſervice. He examined the domeſtick circumſtances of the nation; and proved, that whatever diſcontents there might be in the kingdom, there was little or no diſaffection, and no ſeeming deſign to overturn or diſturb the government. In anſwer to an argument, that ſuch a number of regular forces was neceſſary for preventing or quelling tumults, and for enabling the civil magiſtrate to execute the laws of his country, he expreſſed his hope that he ſhould never ſee the nation reduced to ſuch unfortunate circumſtances: he ſaid, a law which the civil power was unable to execute, muſt either be in itſelf oppreſſive, or ſuch a one as afforded a handle for oppreſſion. In arguing for a reduction of the forces, he took notice of the great increaſe of the national expence. He obſerved, that before the Revolution, the people of England did not raiſe above two millions for the whole of the publick charge; but now what was called the current expence, for which the Parliament annually provided, exceeded that ſum; beſides the civil-liſt, the intereſt due to the publick creditors, and the ſinking-fund, which, added together, compoſed a burthen of ſix millions yearly. The Earl of Cheſterfield, on the ſame ſubject, affirmed, that ſlavery and arbitrary power were the certain conſequences of keeping up a ſtanding army for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of ſlavery are rivetted upon a free people. They may be ſecretly prepared by corruption; but, unleſs a ſtanding army protected thoſe that forged them, the people would break them aſunder, and chop off the polluted hands by which they were prepared. By degrees a free people muſt be accuſtomed to be governed by an army: by degrees that army muſt be made ſtrong enough to hold them in ſubjection. England had for many years been accuſtomed to a ſtanding army, under pretence

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ...

BOOK II. 1738. pretence of its being neceſſary to aſſiſt the civil power; and by degrees the number and ſtrength of it have been increaſing. At the acceſſion of the late King it did not exceed ſix thouſand: it ſoon amounted to double that number, which has been ſince augmented under various pretences. He therefore concluded, that ſlavery, under the diſguiſe of an army for protecting the liberties of the people, was creeping in upon them by degrees: if no reduction ſhould be made, he declared he ſhould expect in a few years to hear ſome miniſter, or favourite of a miniſter, terrifying the Houſe with imaginary plots and invaſions, and making the tour of Europe in ſearch of poſſible dangers, to ſhow the neceſſity of keeping up a mercenary ſtanding army, three times as numerous as the preſent. In ſpite of thoſe ſuggeſtions, the ſtanding army maintained its ground. The ſame noblemen, aſſiſted by Lord Bathurſt, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a debate upon the Spaniſh depredations, which comprehended the ſame arguments that were uſed in the Houſe of Commons. They met with the ſame ſucceſs in both. Reſolutions equivalent to thoſe of the Lower Houſe were taken: an addreſs was preſented; and his Majeſty aſſured them he would repeat, in the moſt preſſing manner, his inſtances at the Court of Spain in order to obtain ſatisfaction and ſecurity for his ſubjects trading to America. This aſſurance was renewed in his ſpeech at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, on the twentieth of May, when the Parliament was prorogued.

§ X. At this period the Princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon, who was baptiſed by the name of George, now King of Great-Britain. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings: addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to the King by the two univerſities, and by almoſt all the cities and communities of the kingdom. But the Prince of Wales ſtill laboured under the diſpleaſure of his Majeſty, who had ordered the Lord-Chamberlain to ſignify

signify in the Gazette, that no person who visited the Prince should be admitted to the Court of St. James's. His Royal Highness was divested of all the external marks of royalty, and lived like a private gentleman, cultivating the virtues of a social life, and enjoying the best fruits of conjugal felicity. In the latter end of this month, Rear-Admiral Haddock set sail with a strong squadron for the Mediterranean, which it was hoped would give weight to the negociation of the British minister at the Court of Madrid. The act to discourage the retail of spirituous liquors had incensed the populace to such a degree as occasioned numberless tumults in the cities of London and Westminster. They were so addicted to the use of that pernicious compound, known by the appellation of gin or geneva, that they ran all risques rather than forego it entirely; and so little regard was paid to the law by which it was prohibited, that in less than two years twelve thousand persons within the bills of mortality were convicted of having sold it illegally. Nearly one half of that number were cast in the penalty of one hundred pounds: and three thousand persons paid ten pounds each, for an exemption from the disgrace of being committed to the house of correction. CHAP. VI. 1738.

§ XI. The war maintained by the Emperor and the Czarina against the Ottoman Porte, had not yet produced any decisive event. Count Seckendorf was disgraced and confined on account of his ill success of the last campaign. General Doxat was tried by a council of war at Belgrade, and condemned to death, for having surrendered to the enemy the town of Nissa, in which he commanded. The diet of the empire granted a subsidy of fifty Roman months to the Emperor, who began to make vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign: but, in the mean time, Ragotski, Vaivode of Transylvania, revolted against the House of Austria, and brought a considerable army into the field, under the protec-

tion

BOOK II. 1738. tion of the Grand Signor. He was immediately proclaimed a rebel, and a price ſet upon his head by the Court of Vienna. The Turks taking the field early, reduced the fort of Uſitza and Meadia, and undertook the ſiege of Orſova, which, however, they abandoned at the approach of the Imperial army, commanded by the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, aſſiſted by Count Konigſegg. The Turks, being reinforced, marched back, and attacked the Imperialiſts, by whom they were repulſed after an obſtinate engagement. The Germans, notwithſtanding this advantage, repaſſed the Danube: and then the infidels made themſelves maſters of Orſova, where they found a fine train of artillery, deſigned for the ſiege of Widin. By the conqueſt of this place, the Turks laid the Danube open to their gallies and veſſels; and the Germans retired under the cannon of Belgrade. In the Ukraine, the Ruſſians under General Count Munich obtained advantage over the Turks in two engagements; and General Lacy routed the Tartars of the Crimea: but they returned in greater numbers, and haraſſed the Muſcovites in ſuch a manner, by intercepting their proviſions, and deſtroying the country, that they were obliged to abandon the lines of Precops.

§ XII. In the month of October, an affair of very ſmall importance produced a rupture between the King of Denmark and the Elector of Hanover. A detachment of Hanoverians took by aſſault the caſtle of Steinhorſt, belonging to the Privy-Counſellor Wederkop, and defended by thirty Daniſh dragoons, who had received orders to repel force by force. Several men were killed on both ſides, before the Hanoverians could enter the place, when the garriſon was diſarmed, and conducted to the frontiers. This petty diſpute, about a ſmall territory which did not yield the value of one thouſand pounds a-year, had well nigh involved Hanover in a war, which, in all probability, Great-Britain muſt have

have maintained: but this diſpute was compromiſed by a convention between the King of England and Denmark. CHAP. VI. 1738.

§ XIII. The ſeſſion of Parliament was opened on the firſt day of February, when the King in his ſpeech to both Houſes, gave them to underſtand, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the King of Spain, who had obliged himſelf to make a reparation to the Britiſh ſubjects for their loſſes, by certain ſtipulated payments: the Plenipotentiaries were named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all thoſe grievances and abuſes which had hitherto interrupted the commerce of Great-Britain in the American ſeas; and for ſettling all matters in diſpute, in ſuch a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new cauſes and pretences of complaint. The motion for an addreſs of approbation was diſputed as uſual. Though the convention was not yet laid before the Houſe, the nature of it was well known to the leaders of the oppoſition. Sir William Wyndham obſerved, that if the miniſtry had made the reſolutions taken by the Parliament in the laſt ſeſſion the foundation of their demands; if they had diſcovered a reſolution to break off all treating, rather than depart from the ſenſe of Parliament, either a defenſive treaty might have been obtained, or by this time the worſt would have been known: but, by what appeared from his Majeſty's ſpeech, the convention was no other than a preliminary; and, in all probability, a very bad preliminary. He ſuppoſed the miniſter had ventured to clothe ſome of his creatures with full powers to give up the rights of the nation; for they might do it if they durſt. Sir Robert Walpole, in anſwer to theſe ſuggeſtions, affirmed, that the miniſtry had on this occaſion obtained more than ever on like occaſions was known to be obtained; that they had reconciled the peace of their country with her true intereſt: that this peace was attended

BOOK II. 1738.

with all the advantages that the moſt ſucceſsful arms could have procured: that future ages would conſider this as the moſt glorious period of our hiſtory, and do juſtice to the councils that produced the happy event, which every gentleman diveſted of paſſion and prejudice was ready to do; and which, he believed, the preſent age, when rightly informed, would not refuſe. In a word, he extolled his own convention with the moſt extravagant encomiums.

§ XIV. The Houſe reſolved to addreſs the King, that copies of all the memorials, repreſentations, letters, and papers, preſented to his Majeſty, or his Secretary of State, relating to depredations, ſhould be ſubmitted to the peruſal of the Houſe: but ſome members in the oppoſition were not contented with this reſolution. Then Mr. Sandys, who may be termed the "Motion-maker," moved for an addreſs, deſiring that the Houſe might inſpect all letters written, and inſtructions given by the Secretaries of State, or Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, to any of the Britiſh Governorsin America,or any Commander in Chief, or Captains of his Majeſty's ſhips of war, or his Majeſty's Miniſter at the Court of Spain, or any of his Majeſty's Conſuls in Europe, ſince the treaty of Seville, relating to loſſes which the Britiſh ſubjects had ſuſtained by means of depredations committed by the ſubjects of Spain in Europe and America. This was an unreaſonable propoſal, ſuggeſted by the Spirit of animoſity and faction. Mr. H. Walpole juſtly obſerved, that a compliance with ſuch an addreſs might lay open the moſt private tranſactions of the cabinet, and diſcover ſecrets that ought, for the good of the kingdom, to be concealed. It would diſcover to the Court of Spain the *ultimatum* of the King's demands and conceſſions, and the nation would thereby be deprived of many advantages which it might reap, were no ſuch diſcovery made. He ſaid, that as ſoon as the differences betwixt the two Courts ſhould arrive at ſuch a criſis,

and

and not before the consuls were instructed to give notice to the merchants, that they might retire in time with their effects; but should such instruction come to the knowledge of the Spaniards, it would be a kind of watch-word to put them on their guard, and unavoidably occasion the ruin of many thousands of British subjects. Certain it is, no Government could act either in external or domestick affairs with proper influence, dignity, and dispatch, if every letter and instruction relating to an unfinished negociation should be exposed to the view of such a numerous assembly, composed of individuals actuated by motives in themselves diametrically opposite. The motion being rejected by the majority, the same gentleman moved again for an address, that his Majesty would give directions for laying before the House copies of such memorials or representations as had been made, either to the King of Spain or to his Ministers, since the treaty of Seville, relating to the depredations committed in Europe or America. A debate ensued; and, upon a division, the question passed in the negative.

CHAP. VI. 1738.

§ XV. The House, in a committee of supply, voted twelve thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and the standing army was continued without reduction, though powerfully attacked by the whole strength of the opposition. The Commons likewise ordered an address to his Majesty, for the copies of several memorials since the treaty of Seville, touching the rights of Great-Britain, or any infraction of treaties which had not been laid before them. These were accordingly submitted to the inspection of the House. By this time the convention itself was not only presented to the Commons, but also published for the information of the people. Divers merchants, planters, and the others trading to America, the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and owners of sundry ships which had been seized by the Spaniards,

 offered

BOOK II. 1738. offered petitions againſt the convention, by which the ſubjects of Spain were ſo far from giving up their groundleſs and unjuſtifiable practice of viſiting and ſearching Britiſh ſhips ſailing to and from the Britiſh plantations, that they appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right: for they inſiſted that the differences which had ariſen concerning it ſhould be referred to Plenipotentiaries, to be diſcuſſed by them without even agreeing to abſtain from ſuch viſitation and ſearch during the time that the diſcuſſion of this affair might laſt. They, therefore, prayed that they might have an opportunity of being heard, and allowed to repreſent the great importance of the Britiſh trade to and from the plantations in America; the clear indiſputable right which they had to enjoy it, without being ſtopped, viſited, or ſearched by the Spaniards, on any pretence whatſoever; and the certain inevitable deſtruction of all the riches and ſtrength derived to Great-Britain from that trade, if a ſearch of Britiſh ſhips ſailing to and from their own plantations ſhould be tolerated upon any pretext, or under any reſtrictions, or even if the freedom of this navigation ſhould continue much longer in a ſtate of uncertainty. Theſe petitions were referred to the committee appointed to conſider of the convention. Another remonſtrance was likewiſe preſented by the truſtees for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia, ſetting forth, that the King of Spain claimed that colony as part of his territories; and that by the convention, the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of Plenipotentiaries; ſo that the colony of Georgia, which undoubtedly belonged to the Crown of Great-Britain, was left in diſpute, while the ſettlers remained in the moſt precarious and dangerous ſituation. It was moved that the merchants ſhould be heard by their counſel: but the propoſal was ſtrenuouſly

oppoſed

opposed by the ministry, and rejected upon a division. CHAP. VI.

1738.

§ XVI. This famous convention concluded at the Pardo on the fourteenth day of January, imported, That within six weeks to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged, two Ministers Plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, to confer, and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two Crowns, with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as well as concerning other points which remained likewise to be adjusted, according to the former treaties subsisting between the two nations: That the Plenipotentiaries should finish their conferences within the space of eight months: That in the mean time no progress should be made in the fortifications of Florida and Carolina: That his Catholick Majesty should pay to the King of Great-Britain, the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds, for a balance due to the crown and subjects of Great-Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain: That this sum should be employed for the satisfaction, discharge, and payment of the demands of the British subjects upon the crown of Spain: That this reciprocal discharge, however, should not extend or relate to the accounts and differences which subsisted and were to be settled between the crown of Spain and the Assiento company, nor to any particular or private contracts that might subsist between either of the two crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of the other; or between the subjects and subjects of each nation respectively: That his Catholick Majesty should cause the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to be paid at London within four months, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged. Such was the substance of that convention, which alarmed and provoked the merchants and traders of

BOOK II. 1738. of Great-Britain, excited the indignation of all those who retained any regard for the honour of their country, and raised a general cry against the minister who stood at the helm of administration.

§ XVII. The eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned upon the House of Commons. The two contending parties summoned their whole force for the approaching dispute: on the day appointed for considering the convention, four hundred members had taken their seats by eight in the morning. In a committee of the whole House, certain West-India merchants and planters were heard against the convention: so that this and the following day were employed in reading papers, and obtaining information. On the eighth day of March, Mr. H. Walpole having launched out in the praise of that agreement, moved for an address of approbation to his Majesty. He was seconded by Mr. Campbell, of Pembrokeshire; and the debate began with extraordinary ardour. He who first distinguished himself in the lists was Sir Thomas Sanderson, at that time treasurer to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Earl of Scarborough. All the officers and adherents of his Royal Highness had joined the opposition; and he himself on this occasion sat in the gallery, to hear the debate on such an important transaction. Sir Thomas Sanderson observed, that the Spaniards by the convention, instead of giving us reparation, had obliged us to give them a general release. They had not allowed the word Satisfaction to be so much as once mentioned in the treaty. Even the Spanish pirate who had cut off the ear of Captain Jenkins*, and

* Captain Jenkins was master of a Scottish merchant ship. He was boarded by the Captain of a Spanish guarda-costa, who treated him in the most barbarous manner. The Spaniards, after having rummaged his vessel for what they called contraband commodities, without finding any thing to justify their search, insulted Jenkins with the most approbrious invectives. They tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his King, and tell him they would serve him in the same manner should an opportunity offer: they tortured him with

and uſed the moſt inſulting expreſſion towards the perſon of the King—an expreſſion which no Britiſh ſubject could decently repeat—an expreſſion which no man that had a regard for his Sovereign could ever forgive—even this fellow lived to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remained a living teſtimony of the cowardly tameneſs and mean ſubmiſſion of Great-Britain; of the triumphant haughtineſs and ſtubborn pride of Spain. Lord Gage, one of the moſt keen, ſpirited, and ſarcaſtick orators in the Houſe, ſtated in this manner the account of the ſatisfaction obtained from the Court of Spain by the convention: The loſſes ſuſtained by the Spaniſh depredations amounted to three hundred and forty thouſand pounds; the Commiſſary, by a ſtroke of his pen, reduced this demand to two hundred thouſand pounds: then forty-five thouſand were ſtruck off for prompt payment: he next allotted ſixty thouſand pounds as the remaining part of a debt pretended to be due to Spain, for the deſtruction of her fleet by Sir George Byng, though it appeared by the inſtructions on the table, that Spain had been already amply ſatisfied on that head: theſe deductions reduced the balance to ninety-five thouſand pounds; but the King of Spain inſiſted upon the South-ſea Company's paying immediately the ſum of ſixty-eight thouſand pounds, as a debt due to him on one head of accounts, though, in other ar-

CHAP. VI.

1738.

with the moſt ſhocking cruelty, and threatened him with immediate death. This man was examined at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, and being aſked by a member what he thought when he found himſelf in the hands of ſuch barbarians? "I recommended my ſoul "to God, ſaid he, and my cauſe to my country." The behaviour of this brave ſeaman, the ſight of his ear, which was produced, with his account of the indignities which had been offered to the nation and Sovereign of Great-Britain, filled the whole Houſe with indignation. Jenkins was afterwards employed in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company; he approved himſelf worthy of his good fortune, in a long engagement with the pirate Angria, during which he behaved with extraordinary courage and conduct; and ſaved his own ſhip, with three others that were under his convoy.

 ticles,

BOOK II. 1738. ticles, his Catholick Majeſty was indebted to the Company a million over and above the demand: The remainder to be paid by Spain did not exceed ſeven-and-twenty thouſand pounds, from which ſhe inſiſted upon deducting whatever ſhe might have already given in ſatisfaction for any of the Britiſh ſhips that had been taken; and on being allowed the value of the St. Thereſa, a Spaniſh ſhip which had been ſeized in the port of Dublin, Mr. W. Pitt, with an energy of argument and diction peculiar to himſelf, declaimed againſt the convention, as inſecure, unſatisfactory, and diſhonourable to Great-Britain. He ſaid the great national objection, the ſearching of Britiſh ſhips, was not admitted, indeed, in the preamble; but ſtood there as the reproach of the whole, as the ſtrongeſt evidence of the fatal ſubmiſſion that followed: on the part of Spain, an uſurpation, an inhuman tyranny claimed and exerciſed over the American ſeas: on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and Nature declared and aſſerted in the reſolutions of Parliament; were now referred to the diſcuſſion of Plenipotentiaries, upon one and the ſame equal foot. This undoubted right was to be diſcuſſed and regulated; and if to regulate be to preſcribe rules, as in all conſtruction it is, that right was, by the expreſs words of the convention, to be given up and ſacrificed: for it muſt ceaſe to be any thing from the moment it is ſubmitted to limitation. Mr. Lyttelton, with equal force and fluency, anſwered the ſpeech of Mr. H. Walpole. "After he had uſed "many arguments to perſuade us to peace (ſaid he) "to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the "dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow "to be ſuch as he repreſents them, he crowned all "thoſe terrors with the name of the Pretender. It "would be the cauſe of the Pretender. The Pre-"tender would come. Is the honourable gentle-"man ſenſible what this language imports? The

"people

CHAP. VI. 1738.

"people of England complain of the greateſt wrongs "and indignities: they complain of the interrup-"tion, the deſtruction of their trade: they think "the peace has left them in a worſe condition than "before: and in anſwer to all theſe complaints, "what are they told? Why, that their continuing "to ſuffer all this, is the price they muſt pay to "keep the King and his family on the throne of "theſe realms. If this were true, it ought not to "be owned: but it is far from truth; the very re-"verſe is true. Nothing can weaken the family; "nothing ſhake the eſtabliſhment, but ſuch mea-"ſures as theſe, and ſuch language as this." He affirmed, that if the miniſters had proceeded conformably to the intentions of Parliament, they would either have acted with vigour, or have obtained a real ſecurity in an expreſs acknowledgement of our right not to be ſearched as a preliminary, *ſine qua non*, to our treating at all. Inſtead of this, they had referred it to Plenipotentiaries. "Would you, "Sir, (ſaid he) ſubmit to a reference, whether you "may travel unmoleſted from your houſe in town "to your houſe in the country? Your right is clear "and undeniable, why would you have it diſcuſſed? "but much leſs would you refer it, if two of your "judges belonged to a gang which has often ſtopped "and robbed you in your way thither before."— The miniſters, in vindication of the convention, aſſerted, that the ſatisfaction granted by Spain was adequate to the injury received: that it was only the preliminary of a treaty which would remove all cauſes of complaint; that war was always expenſive and detrimental to a trading nation, as well as uncertain in its events: that France and Spain would certainly join their forces in caſe of a rupture with Great-Britain: that there was not one Power in Europe upon which the Engliſh could depend for effectual aſſiſtance; and that war would favour the cauſe and deſigns of a popiſh Pretender. The Houſe

BOOK II. 1738. upon a division, agreed to the address; but when a motion was made for its being recommitted, the two parties renewed the engagement with redoubled eagerness and impetuosity. Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney poured all the thunder of their eloquence against the insolence of Spain, and the concessions of the British ministry. Sir Robert Walpole exerted all his fortitude and dexterity in defence of himself and his measures, and the question being put, the resolutions for the address were carried by a small majority.

§ XVIII. Then Sir William Wyndham, standing up, made a pathetick remonstrance upon this determination. "This address (said he) is intended to "convince mankind, that the treaty under our consideration is a reasonable and an honourable treaty. "But if a majority of twenty-eight in such a full "House should fail of that success; if the people "should not implicitly resign their reason to a vote "of this House, what will be the consequence? "Will not the Parliament lose its authority? Will "it not be thought, that even in the Parliament we "are governed by a faction; and what the conse"quence of this may be, I leave to those gentlemen "to consider, who are now to give their vote for "this address: for my own part, I will trouble you "no more, but, with these my last words, I sin"cerely pray to Almighty God, who has so often "wonderfully protected these kingdoms, that he "will graciously continue his protection over them, "by preserving us from that impending danger "which threatens the nation from without, and "likewise from that impending danger which "threatens our constitution from within." The minister was on this occasion deserted by his usual temper, and even provoked into personal abuse. He declared, that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents had been looked upon as the head of those traitors, who twenty-five years before

before conſpired the deſtruction of their country and of the Royal Family, in order to ſet a Popiſh Pretender upon the throne: that he was ſeized by the vigilance of the then government, and pardoned by its clemency, but all the uſe he had ungratefully made of that clemency, was to qualify himſelf according to law, that he and his party might ſome time or other have an opportunity to overthrow all law. He branded them all as traitors, and expreſſed his hope, that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the preſent happy eſtabliſhment. To ſuch a degree of mutual animoſity were both ſides inflamed, that the moſt eminent members of the minority actually retired from Parliament; and were by the nation in general revered as martyrs to the liberty of the people.

§ XIX. The diſpute occaſioned by the convention in the Houſe of Lords, was maintained with equal warmth, and perhaps with more abilities. After this famous treaty had been conſidered, Lord Carteret ſuggeſted, that poſſibly one of the contracting powers had preſented a proteſt or declaration, importing that ſhe acceded to ſuch or ſuch a meaſure, only upon condition that the terms of that proteſt or declaration ſhould be made good. He ſaid, that until his mind ſhould be free from the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion that ſuch a paper might exiſt in the preſent caſe, he could not form a juſt opinion of the tranſaction himſelf, nor communicate to their Lordſhips any light which might be neceſſary for that purpoſe. The adherents to the miniſtry endeavoured to evade his curioſity in this particular, by general aſſertions: but he inſiſted on his ſuſpicion with ſuch perſeverance, that at length the miniſtry produced the copy of a declaration made by the King of Spain before he ratified the convention, ſignifying that his Catholick Majeſty reſerved to himſelf, in its full force, the right of being able to ſuſpend the aſſiento of negroes, in caſe the company ſhould

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

BOOK II. 1738. ſhould not pay within a ſhort time the ſum of ſixty-eight thouſand pounds ſterling, owing to Spain on the duty of negroes, or on the profit of the ſhip Caroline: That under the validity and force of this proteſt, the ſigning of the ſaid convention might be proceeded on, and in no other manner. In the debate that enſued, Lord Carteret diſplayed a ſurpriſing extent of political knowledge, recommended by all the graces of elocution, chaſte, pure, dignified, and delicate. Lord Bathurſt argued againſt the articles of convention with his uſual ſpirit, integrity, and good ſenſe, particularly animated by an honeſt indignation which the wrongs of his country had inſpired. The Earl of Cheſterfield attacked this inglorious meaſure with all the weight of argument, and all the poignancy of ſatire. The Duke of Argyle, no longer a partiſan of the miniſtry, inveighed againſt it as infamous, treacherous, and deſtructive, with all the fire, impetuoſity, and enthuſiaſm of declamation. It was defended with unequal arms by the Duke of Newcaſtle, the Earl of Cholmondeley, Lord Hervey, the Lord Chancellor, the Biſhop of Saliſbury, and in particular by the Earl of Ilay, a nobleman of extenſive capacity and uncommon erudition; remarkable for his knowledge of the civil law, and ſeemingly formed by nature for a politician; cool, diſcerning, plauſible, artful, and enterpriſing, ſtaunch to the miniſter, and invariably true to his own intereſt. The diſpute was learned, long, and obſtinate: but ended as uſual in the diſcomfiture of thoſe who had ſtigmatiſed the treaty. The Houſe agreed to an addreſs, in which they thanked his Majeſty for his gracious condeſcenſion in laying before them the convention. They acknowledged his great prudence in bringing the demands of his ſubjects for their paſt loſſes, which had been ſo long depending, to a final adjuſtment; in procuring an expreſs ſtipulation for a ſpeedy payment; and in laying a foundation for ac-

complishing

compliſhing the great and deſirable ends of obtaining future ſecurity: and preſerving the peace between the two nations. They declared their confidence in his Royal Wiſdom, that in the treaty to be concluded in purſuance of the convention, proper proviſions would be made for the redreſs of the grievances of which the nation had ſo juſtly complained: They aſſured his Majeſty, that in caſe his juſt expectations ſhould not be anſwered, the Houſe would heartily and zealouſly concur in all ſuch meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary to vindicate his Majeſty's honour, and to preſerve to his ſubjects the full enjoyment of all thoſe rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the law of nations. This was an hard-won victory. At the head of thoſe who voted againſt the addreſs we find the Prince of Wales. His example was followed by ſix Dukes, two-and-twenty Earls, four Viſcounts, eighteen Barons, four Biſhops; and their party was re-enforced by ſixteen proxies. A ſpirited proteſt was entered and ſubſcribed by nine-and-thirty Peers, comprehending all the noblemen of the kingdom who were moſt eminent for their talents, integrity, and virtue.

CHAP. VI. 1738.

§ XX. A meſſage having been delivered to the Houſe from his Majeſty, importing, That he had ſettled nine-and-thirty thouſand pounds per annum on the younger children of the Royal Family; and deſiring their Lordſhips would bring in a bill to enable his Majeſty to make that proviſion good, out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, ſome Lords in the oppoſition obſerved that the next heir to the crown might look upon this ſettlement as a mortgage of his revenue, which a parliament had no power to make: that formerly no daughter of the Royal Family was ever provided for by Parliament, except the eldeſt, and that never was by way of annuity, but an expreſs proviſion of a determinate ſum of money paid by way of dowry. Theſe objections were over-ruled; and the Houſe complied with

An. 1739.

BOOK II. 1739.

with his Majeſty's requeſt. Then the Duke of Newcaſtle produced a ſubſidy-treaty, by which his Majeſty obliged himſelf to pay to the King of Denmark ſeventy thouſand pounds per annum, on condition of the Dane's furniſhing to his Britannick Majeſty a body of ſix thouſand men, when demanded. At the ſame time, his grace delivered a meſſage from the King, deſiring the Houſe would enable him to fulfil this engagement; and alſo to raiſe what money and troops the exigency of affairs, during the approaching receſs, might require. Another vehement diſpute aroſe from this propoſal. With reſpect to the treaty, Lord Carteret obſerved, that no uſe could be made of the Daniſh troops in any expedition undertaken againſt Spain, becauſe it was ſtipulated in the treaty, that they ſhould not be uſed either in Italy, or on board of the fleet, or be tranſported in whole or in part beyond ſea, after they ſhould have marched out of the territories of Denmark, except for the defence of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland: nay, ſhould France join againſt the Engliſh, the Danes could not act againſt that power or Spain, except as part of an army formed in Germany or Flanders. This body of Danes may be ſaid, therefore, to have been retained for the defence and protection of Hanover: or, if the intereſt of Britain was at all conſulted in the treaty, it muſt have been in preventing the Danes from joining their fleets to thoſe of France and Spain. Then he argued againſt the ſecond part of the meſſage with great vivacity. He ſaid nothing could be more dangerous to the conſtitution than a general and unlimited vote of credit. Such a demand our anceſtors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with ſcorn. He affirmed that the practice was but of modern date in England: that it was never heard of before the Revolution; and never became frequent until the nation was bleſſed with the preſent wiſe adminiſtration. He ſaid,

ſaid, if ever a general vote of credit and confidence ſhould become a cuſtomary compliment from the Parliament to the crown at the end of every ſeſſion, or as often as the miniſter might think fit to deſire it, Parliaments would grow deſpicable in the eyes of the people: then a proclamation might be eaſily ſubſtituted in its ſtead, and happy would it be for the nation if that ſhould be ſufficient; for when a Parliament ceaſes to be a check upon miniſters, it becomes an uſeleſs an unneceſſary burthen on the people. The repreſentatives muſt always be paid ſome way or other: if their wages are not paid openly and ſurely by their reſpective conſtituents, as they were formerly, a majority of them may in future times be always ready to accept of wages from the adminiſtration, and theſe muſt come out of the pockets of the people. The Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Cheſterfield enlarged upon the ſame topicks. Nevertheleſs, the Houſe complied with the meſſage; and preſented an addreſs, in which they not only approved of the treaty with Denmark, but likewiſe aſſured his Majeſty they would concur with his meaſures, and ſupport him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making ſuch further augmentation of his forces by ſea and land, as he ſhould think neceſſary for the honour, intereſt, and ſafety of theſe kingdoms.

§ XXI. The ſame meſſage being communicated to the Commons, they voted ſeventy thouſand five hundred and eighty-three pounds, for the ſubſidy to Denmark, and five hundred thouſand pounds for augmenting the forces on any emergency. As Great-Britain ſtood engaged by the convention to pay to the crown of Spain the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds in conſideration of the ſhips taken and deſtroyed by Sir George Byng, which ſum was to be applied to the relief of the Britiſh merchants who had ſuffered by the Spaniſh depredations, the Commons inſerted in a bill a clauſe, providing for this

ſum

BOOK II. 1739.

ſum to be paid by the Parliament. When the bill was read in the Houſe of Lords a motion was made by Lord Bathurſt for an addreſs, to know, whether Spain had paid the money ſtipulated by the convention, as the time limited for the payment of it was now expired. The Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Majeſty's permiſſion, acquainted the Houſe, that it was not paid; and that Spain had as yet given no reaſon for the non-payment. Then a day was appointed to conſider the State of the nation, when Lord Carteret moved for a reſolution, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the convention, a high indignity to his Majeſty, and an injuſtice to the nation: but, after a warm debate, this motion was over-ruled by the majority. The miniſter, in order to atone in ſome meaſure for the unpopular ſtep he had taken in the convention, allowed a ſalutary law to paſs for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture: and two bills in behalf of the ſugar colonies, one permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper reſtrictions; and the other making more effectual proviſions for ſecuring the duties laid upon the importation of foreign Sugars, Rum, and Melaſſes into Great-Britain, and his Majeſty's plantations in America. The ſupplies being voted, the funds eſtabliſhed, and the crown gratified in every particular, the King cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech on the fourteenth day of June, when the Chancellor in his Majeſty's name prorogued the Parliament*.

§ XXII.

* Among the laws enacted in the courſe of this ſeſſion was an act againſt gaming, which had become univerſal through all ranks of people, and likely to prove deſtructive of all morals, induſtry, and ſentiment. Another bill paſſed, for granting a reward to Joanna Stevens, on her diſcovering, for the benefit of the publick, a noſtrum for the cure of perſons afflicted with the ſtone; a medicine which has by no means anſwered the expectations of the legiſlature.

In the Houſe of Lords complaint was made by Lord Delawar of a ſatire, intituled Manners, written by Mr. Whitehead; in which ſome

§ XXII. Letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Spaniards: a promotion was made of general-officers: the troops were augmented: a great fleet was assembled at Spithead; a reinforcement sent out to Admiral Haddock; and an embargo laid on all merchant ships outward bound. Notwithstanding these preparations of war, Mr. Keen, the British minister at Madrid, declared to the Court of Spain, that his master, although he had permitted his subjects to make reprisals, would not be understood to have broken the peace; and that this permission would be recalled as soon as his Catholick Majesty should be disposed to make the satisfaction which had been so justly demanded. He was given to understand, that the King of Spain looked upon those reprisals as acts of hostility; and that he hoped, with the assistance of heaven and his allies, he should be able to support a good cause against his adversaries. He published a manifesto in justification of his own conduct, complaining that Admiral Haddock had received orders to cruise with his squadron between the capes St. Vincent and St. Mary, in order to surprise the Assogue ships; that letters of reprisal had been published at London in an indecent style, and even carried into execution in different parts of the world. He excused his non-payment of the ninety-five thousand pounds stipulated in the convention, by affirming that the British Court had first contravened the articles of that treaty, by the orders sent to Haddock; by continuing to fortify Georgia; by reinforcing the squadron at Jamaica; and by eluding the payment of the sixty-eight thousand pounds due to

CHAP. VI.

1739.

some characters of distinction were severely lashed, in the true spirit of poetry. It was voted a libel; a motion was made to take the author into custody; but he having withdrawn himself, the resentment of the House fell upon R. Dodsley, the publisher of the work, who was committed to the usher of the Black-Rod, though Lord Carteret, the Earl of Abingdon, and Lord Talbot, spoke in his behalf.

 Spain

BOOK II. 1739.

Spain from the South-sea Company, on the aſſiento for negroes. The French Ambaſſador at the Hague, declared that the King his maſter was obliged by treaties to aſſiſt his Catholick Majeſty by ſea and land, in caſe he ſhould be attacked; he diſſuaded the States-General from eſpouſing the quarrel of Great-Britain; and they aſſured him they would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, though they could not avoid furniſhing his Britannick Majeſty with ſuch ſuccours as he could demand, by virtue of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two powers. The people of England were inſpired with uncommon alacrity at the near proſpect of war, for which they had ſo long clamoured: and the miniſtry ſeeing it unavoidable, began to be earneſt and effectual in their preparations.

§ XXIII. The events of war were ſtill unfavourable to the Emperor. He had beſtowed the command of his army upon Velt-Mareſchal Count Wallis, who aſſembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade; and advanced towards Crotſka, where he was attacked by the Turks with ſuch impetuoſity and perſeverance, that he was obliged to give ground, after a long and obſtinate engagement, in which he loſt above ſix thouſand men. The Earl of Crawford, who ſerved as a volunteer in the Imperial army, ſignalized his courage in an extraordinary manner on this occaſion, and received a dangerous wound, of which he never perfectly recovered. The Turks were afterwards worſted at Jabouka, nevertheleſs, their grand army inveſted Belgrade on the ſide of Servia, and carried on the operations of the ſiege with extraordinary vigour. The Emperor, dreading the loſs of this place, ſeeing his finances exhauſted, and his army conſiderably diminiſhed, conſented to a negociation for peace, which was tranſacted under the mediation of the French Ambaſſador at the Ottoman Porte. The Count de Neuperg, as Imperial Plenipotentiary, ſigned

ſigned the preliminaries on the firſt day of September. They were ratified by the Emperor, though he pretended to be diſſatisfied with the articles; and declared that his miniſter had exceeded his powers. By this treaty the Houſe of Auſtria ceded to the Grand Signor, Belgrade, Sabatz, Servia, Auſtrian Wallachia, the iſle and fortreſs of Orſova, with the fort of St. Elizabeth; and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Saave ſhould ſerve as boundaries to the two Empires. The Emperor publiſhed a circular letter, addreſſed to his miniſters at all the courts in Europe, blaming Count Wallis for the bad ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, and diſowning the negociations of Count Neuperg: nay, theſe two officers were actually diſgraced, and confined in different caſtles. This, however, was no other than a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the Czarina, who loudly complained, that the Emperor had concluded a ſeparate peace, contrary to his engagements with the Ruſſian empire. Her General, Count Munich, had obtained a victory over the Turks at Choczim in Moldovia, and made himſelf maſter of that place, in which he found two hundred pieces of artillery: but the country was ſo ruined by the incurſions of the Tartars, that the Muſcovites could not ſubſiſt in it during the winter. The Czarina, finding herſelf abandoned by the Emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the Ottoman empire, took the firſt opportunity of putting an end to the war upon honourable terms. After a ſhort negociation, the conferences ended in a treaty, by which ſhe was left in poſſeſſion of Aſoph, on condition that its fortifications ſhould be demoliſhed; and the ancient limits were re-eſtabliſhed between the two empires.

CHAP. VI.

1739.

§ XXIV. A rupture between Great-Britain and Spain was now become inevitable. The Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean had already made prize of two rich Caracca ſhips. The King had iſſued orders for augmenting his land-forces, and

BOOK II. 1739. raising a body of marines: and a great number of ships of war were put in commission. Admiral Vernon had been sent to the West-Indies, to assume the command of the squadron in those seas; and to annoy the trade and settlements of the Spaniards. This gentleman had rendered himself considerable in the House of Commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the ministry, and bluntly speaking his sentiments, whatever they were, without respect of persons, and sometimes without any regard to decorum. He was counted a good officer, and this boisterous manner seemed to enhance his character. As he had once commanded a squadron in Jamaica, he was perfectly well acquainted with those seas; and in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, he chanced to affirm, that Porto-Bello on the Spanish Maine might be easily taken: nay, he even undertook to reduce it with six ships only. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in the opposition. Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh: he became the idol of a party, and his praise resounded from all corners of the kingdom. The minister, in order to appease the clamours of the people on this subject, sent him as Commander in chief to the West-Indies. He was pleased with an opportunity to remove such a troublesome censor from the House of Commons; and, perhaps, he was not without hope that Vernon would disgrace himself and his party, by failing in the exploit he had undertaken. His Catholick Majesty having ordered all the British ships in his harbour to be seized and detained, the King of England would keep measures with him no longer, but denounced war against him on the twenty-third day of October. Many English merchants began to equip privateers, and arm their trading vessels, to protect their own commerce, as well as to distress that of the enemy. The session of Parliament was opened in November, when the King, in his speech

to both Houſes, declared, that he had augmented his forces by ſea and land, purſuant to the power veſted in him by Parliament for the ſecurity of his dominions, the protection of trade, and the annoyance of the enemy; and he expreſſed his apprehenſion, that the heats and animoſities which had been induſtriouſly fomented throughout the kingdom, encouraged Spain to act in ſuch a manner as rendered it neceſſary for him to have recourſe to arms. In anſwer to this ſpeech, affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both Houſes, without any conſiderable oppoſition.

§ XXV. The ſeceding members had again reſumed their ſeats in the Houſe of Commons; and Mr. Pulteney thought proper to vindicate the extraordinary ſtep which they had taken. He ſaid, they thought that ſtep was neceſſary, as affairs then ſtood, for clearing their characters to poſterity from the imputation of ſitting in an aſſembly, where a determined majority gave a ſanction to meaſures evidently to the diſgrace of his Majeſty and the nation. He obſerved, that their conduct was ſo fully juſtified by the declaration of war againſt Spain, that any further vindication would be ſuperfluous; for every aſſertion contained in it had been almoſt in the ſame words inſiſted upon by thoſe who oppoſed the convention: "Every ſentence in it (added he) is an "echo of what was ſaid in our reaſonings againſt "that treaty: every poſitive truth which the de"claration lays down, was denied with the utmoſt "confidence by thoſe who ſpoke for the convention; "and, ſince that time, there has not one event hap"pened which was not then foreſeen and foretold." He propoſed, that in maintaining the war, the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies ſhould be attacked; and that the miniſtry ſhould not have the power to give up the conqueſts that might be made. He ſaid he heartily wiſhed, for his Majeſty's honour and ſervice, that no mention had been made of heats and

BOOK II. 1739.

and animosities in the King's speech; and gave it as his opinion, that they should take no notice of that clause in their address. He was answered by Sir Robert Walpole, who took occasion to say, he was in no great concern lest the service of his Majesty or the nation should suffer by the absence of those members who had quitted the House: he affirmed, the nation was generally sensible, that the many useful and popular acts which passed towards the end of the last session, were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the secession of those gentlemen; and, if they were returned only to oppose and perplex, he should not be at all sorry to see them secede again.

§ XXVI. Mr. Pulteney revived the bill which he had formerly prepared for the encouragement of seamen. After a long dispute, and eager opposition by the ministry, it passed both Houses, and obtained the Royal assent. Mr. Sandys having observed that there could be no immediate use for a great number of forces in the kingdom; and explained how little service could be expected from raw and undisciplined men; proposed an address to the King, desiring that the body of marines should be composed of drafts from the old regiments, that as few officers should be appointed as the nature of the case would permit; and he expressed his hope, that the House would recommend this method to his Majesty, in tender compassion to his people, already burthened with many heavy and grievous taxes. This scheme was repugnant to the intention of the ministry, whose aim was to increase the number of their dependents, and extend their parliamentary interest, by granting a great number of commissions. The proposal was, therefore, after a long debate, rejected by the majority. Motions were made for an enquiry into the conduct of those who concluded the convention; but they were over-ruled. The pension-bill was revived, and so powerfully supported by the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham,

Mr.

Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Lyttelton, that it made its way through the Commons to the Upper House, where it was again loſt, upon a diviſion, after a very long debate. As the ſeamen of the kingdom expreſſed uncommon averſion to the ſervice of the government, and the fleet could not be manned without great difficulty, the miniſtry prepared a bill, which was brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for regiſtering all ſeamen, watermen, fiſhermen, and lightermen, throughout his Majeſty's dominions. Had this bill paſſed into a law, a Britiſh ſailor would have been reduced to the moſt abject degree of ſlavery: had he removed from a certain diſtrict allotted for the place of his reſidence, he would have been deemed a deſerter, and puniſhed accordingly: he muſt have appeared, when ſummoned, at all hazards, whatever might have been the circumſtances of his family, or the ſtate of his private affairs: had he been incumbered with debt, he muſt either have incurred the penalties of this law, or lain at the mercy of his creditors: had he acquired by induſtry, or received by inheritance, an ample fortune, he would have been liable to be torn from his poſſeſſions, and ſubjected to hardſhips which no man would endure but from the ſenſe of fear or indigence. The bill was ſo vigorouſly oppoſed by Sir John Barnard and others, as a flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the people, that the Houſe rejected it on the ſecond reading.

§ XXVII. The King having by meſſage communicated to the Houſe his intention of diſpoſing the Princeſs Mary in marriage to Prince Frederick of Heſſe; and expreſſing his hope, that the Commons would enable him to give a ſuitable portion to his daughter, they unanimouſly reſolved to grant forty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe; and preſented an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, for having communicated to the Houſe this intended marriage. On the thirteenth day of March a ſhip arrived from the

BOOK II. 1739. the West-Indies, dispatched by Admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, and demolished all the fortifications of the place. The Spaniards acted with such pusillanimity on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. The two Houses of Parliament joined in an address of congratulation upon this success of his Majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its merit. The Commons granted every thing the Crown thought proper to demand. They provided for eight-and-twenty thousand land-forces, besides six thousand marines. They enabled his Majesty to equip a very powerful navy: they voted the subsidy to the King of Denmark; and they empowered their Sovereign to defray certain extraordinary expences not specified in the estimates. To answer these uncommon grants, they imposed a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; and enabled his Majesty to deduct twelve hundred thousand pounds from the sinking fund; in a word, the expence of the war, during the course of the ensuing year, amounted to about four millions. The session was closed on the twenty-ninth day of April, when the King thanked the Commons for the supplies they had so liberally granted, and recommended union and moderation to both Houses.

An. 1740. § XXVIII. During the greatest part of this winter, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began at Christmas, and continued till the latter end of February. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped: the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme,

treme, that many perſons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to ſupply themſelves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price, in proportion to the ſeverity and continuance of the froſt. The lower claſs of labourers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of ſubſiſtence: many kinds of manufacture were laid aſide, becauſe it was found impracticable to carry them on. The price of all ſorts of proviſion roſe almoſt to a dearth: even water was ſold in the ſtreets of London. In this ſeaſon of diſtreſs, many wretched families muſt have periſhed by cold and hunger, had not thoſe of opulent fortunes been inſpired with a remarkable ſpirit of compaſſion and humanity. Nothing can more redound to the honour of the Engliſh nation, than did thoſe inſtances of benevolence and well-conducted charity which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the profeſſed beggar, and the poor that owned their diſtreſs, but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve thoſe more unhappy objects, who, from motives of falſe pride, or ingenuous ſhame, endeavoured to conceal their miſery. Theſe were aſſiſted almoſt in their own deſpite. The ſolitary habitations of the widow, the fatherleſs, and the unfortunate, were viſited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow-creatures; and, to ſuch as refuſed to receive a portion of the publick charity, the neceſſaries of life were privately conveyed in ſuch a manner as could leaſt ſhock the delicacy of their diſpoſitions.

CHAP. VI. 1740.

§ XXIX. In the beginning of May, the King of Great-Britain ſet out for Hanover, after having appointed a Regency, and concerted vigorous meaſures for diſtreſſing the enemy. In a few days after his departure, the ſpouſals of the Princeſs Mary were celebrated by proxy, the Duke of Cumberland repreſenting the Prince of Heſſe, and in June the

BOOK II. 1740. Princeſs embarked for the Continent. About the ſame time, a ſloop arrived in England with diſpatches from Admiral Vernon, who, ſince his adventure at Porto-Bello, had bombarded Carthagena, and taken the fort of San Lorenzo, on the river of Chagre, in the neighbourhood of his former conqueſt. This month was likewiſe marked by the death of his Pruſſian Majeſty, a Prince by no means remarkable for great or amiable qualities. He was ſucceeded on the throne by Frederick his eldeſt ſon, the late King of that realm, who has ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a warrior and legiſlator. In Auguſt, the King of Great-Britain concluded a treaty with the Landgrave of Heſſe, who engaged to furniſh him with a body of ſix thouſand men for four years, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy of two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns.

§ XXX. Meanwhile, preparations of war were vigorouſly carried on by the miniſtry in England. They had wiſely reſolved to annoy the Spaniards in their American poſſeſſions. Three ſhips of war, cruiſing in the bay of Biſcay, fell in with a large Spaniſh ſhip of the line ſtrongly manned, and took her after a very obſtinate engagement: but the Aſſogue ſhips arrived, with the treaſure, in Spain, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the Engliſh Commanders, who were ſtationed in a certain latitude to intercept that flota. One camp was formed on Hounſlow-heath; and ſix thouſand marines lately levied were encamped on the Iſle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the Weſt-Indies. Intelligence being received, that a ſtrong ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips of war waited at Ferrol for orders to ſail to their American ſettlements, Sir John Norris ſailed with a powerful fleet from Spithead, to diſpute their voyage; and the Duke of Cumberland ſerved in perſon as a volunteer in this expedition: but, after divers fruitleſs efforts, he was, by contrary winds, obliged to lie inactive for the greateſt

part

part of the summer in Torbay: and, upon advice that the French and Spanish squadrons had sailed to the West-Indies in conjunction, the design against Ferrol was wholly laid aside. In September, a small squadron of ships commanded by Commodore Anson, set sail for the South-sea, in order to act against the enemy on the coast of Chili and Peru, and co-operate occasionally with Admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The scheme was well laid, but ruined by unnecessary delays, and unforeseen accidents. But the hopes of the nation centered chiefly in a formidable armament designed for the northern coast of new Spain, and his Catholick Majesty's other settlements on that side of the Atlantick. Commissions had been issued for raising a regiment of four battalions in the English colonies of North-America, that they might be transported to Jamaica, and join the forces from England. These, consisting of the marines, and detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in October at the Isle of Wight, under the command of Lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and great experience in the art of war; and they sailed under convoy of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of seven-and-twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and tenders. They were likewise furnished with hospital-ships, and store-ships, laden with provision, ammunition, all sorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience. Never was an armament more completely equipped; and never had the nation more reason to hope for extraordinary success.

§ XXXI. On the twentieth day of October, Charles VI. Emperor of Germany, the last Prince of the House of Austria, died at Vienna, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, married to the grand Duke of Tuscany. Though this Princess succeeded as Queen of Hungary, by virtue of the

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

BOOK II. 1740. the pragmatick ſanction guaranteed by all the powers in Europe, her ſucceſſion produced ſuch conteſts as kindled a cruel war in the empire. The young King of Pruſſia was no ſooner informed of the Emperor's death, than he entered Sileſia at the head of twenty thouſand men; ſeized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim; and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that he had no intention to contravene the pragmatick ſanction. The Elector of Bavaria refuſed to acknowledge the Archducheſs as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia; alledging, that he himſelf had pretenſions to thoſe countries, as the deſcendant of the Emperor Ferdinand I. who was head of the German branch of the Houſe of Auſtria. Charles VI. was ſurvived but a few days by his ally, the Czarina Anne Iwanowna, who died in the forty-fifth year of her age, after having bequeathed her Crown to Iwan, or John, the infant ſon of her niece, the Princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, who had been married to Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Brunſwick Lunenbourg-Bevern. She appointed the Duke of Courland Regent of the Empire, and even guardian of the young Czar, though his own parents were alive: but this diſpoſition was not long maintained.

§ XXXII. The King of Great-Britain having returned to England from his German dominions, the ſeſſion of Parliament was opened in November. His Majeſty aſſured them, on this occaſion, that he was determined to proſecute the war vigorouſly, even though France ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of Spain, as her late conduct ſeemed to favour this ſuppoſition. He took notice of the Emperor's death, as an event which in all likelihood would open a new ſcene of affairs in Europe: he therefore recommended to their conſideration the neceſſary ſupplies for putting the nation in ſuch a poſture that it ſhould have nothing to fear from any emergency. Finally, he deſired them to conſider of ſome proper regulations for preventing the exportation of corn, and for more

effectual

CHAP. VI. 1740.

effectual methods to man the fleet at this conjuncture. The Commons, after having voted an addrefs of thanks, brought in a bill for prohibiting the exportation of corn and provifions, for a limited time, out of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the American plantations. This was a meafure calculated to diftrefs the enemy, who were fuppofed to be in want of thefe neceffaries. The French had contracted for a very large quantity of beef and pork in Ireland for the ufe of their own and the Spanifh navy; and an embargo had been laid upon the fhips of that kingdom. The bill met with a vigorous oppofition: yet the Houfe unanimoufly refolved, that his Majefty fhould be addreffed to lay an immediate embargo upon all fhips laden with corn, grain, ftarch, rice, beef, pork, and other provifions, to be exported to foreign parts. They likewife refolved, that the thanks of the Houfe fhould be given to Vice-Admiral Vernon, for the fervices he had done to his king and country in the Weft-Indies. One William Cooley was examined at the bar of the Houfe, and committed to prifon, after having owned himfelf author of a paper, intituled, "Confiderations upon the embargo on provifion of victual." The performance contained many fhrewd and fevere animadverfions upon the government, for having taken a ftep which, without anfwering the purpofe of diftreffing the enemy, would prove a grievous difcouragement to trade, and ruin all the graziers of Ireland. Notwithftanding the arguments ufed in this remonftrance, and feveral petitions that were prefented againft the corn-bill, it paffed by mere dint of minifterial influence. The other party endeavoured, by various motions, to fet on foot an enquiry into the orders, letters, and inftructions, which had been fent to Admiral Vernon and Admiral Haddock: but all fuch inveftigations were carefully avoided.

§ XXXIII.

BOOK II. 1740.

§ XXXIII. A very hot conteſt aroſe from a bill which the miniſtry brought in under the ſpecious title of, A bill for the encouragement and increaſe of ſeamen, and for the better and ſpeedier manning his Majeſty's fleet. This was a revival of the oppreſſive ſcheme which had been rejected in the former ſeſſion; a ſcheme by which the juſtices of the peace were empowered to iſſue warrants to conſtables and headboroughs, to ſearch by day or night for ſuch ſea-faring men as ſhould conceal themſelves within their reſpective juriſdictions. Theſe ſearchers were veſted with authority to force open doors, in caſe of reſiſtance; and encouraged to this violence by a reward for every ſeaman they ſhould diſcover; while the unhappy wretches ſo diſcovered were dragged into the ſervice, and their names entered in a regiſter to be kept at the Navy or the Admiralty-Office. Such a plan of tyranny did not paſs uncenſured. Every exceptionable clauſe produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, Lord Gage, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttelton, ſignalized themſelves nobly in defending the liberties of their fellow-ſubjects. Mr. Pitt having expreſſed a laudable indignation at ſuch a large ſtride towards deſpotick power, in juſtification of which nothing could be urged but the plea of neceſſity, Mr. H. Walpole thought proper to attack him with ſome perſonal ſarcaſms. He reflected upon his youth; and obſerved that the diſcovery of truth was very little promoted by pompous diction and theatrical emotion. Theſe inſinuations expoſed him to a ſevere reply. Mr. Pitt ſtanding up again, ſaid, "He "would not undertake to determine whether youth "could be juſtly imputed to any man as a reproach; "but he affirmed, that the wretch, who after having "ſeen the conſequences of repeated errors, conti-"nues ſtill to blunder, and whoſe age has only ad-"ded obſtinacy to ſtupidity, is ſurely the object of "either abhorrence or contempt, and deſerves not

"that his grey head ſhould ſecure him from inſults: "much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has "advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and "becomes more wicked with leſs temptation; who "proſtitutes himſelf for money which he cannot "enjoy; and ſpends the remains of his life in the "ruin of his country."—Petitions were preſented from the city of London, and county of Glouceſter, againſt the bill, as detrimental to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, by diſcouraging rather than encouraging ſailors, and deſtructive to the liberties of the ſubject: but they were both rejected as inſults upon the Houſe of Commons. After very long debates, maintained on both ſides with extraordinary ardour and emotion, the ſevere clauſes were dropped, and the bill paſſed with amendments.

§ XXXIV. But the moſt remarkable incident of this ſeſſion, was an open and perſonal attack upon the miniſter, who was become extremely unpopular all over the kingdom. The people were now more, than ever, ſenſible of the grievous taxes under which they groaned; and ſaw their burthens daily increaſing. No effectual attempt had as yet been made to annoy the enemy. Expenſive ſquadrons had been equipped; had made excurſions, and returned without ſtriking a blow. The Spaniſh fleet had ſailed firſt from Cadiz, and then from Ferrol, without any interruption from Admiral Haddock, who commanded the Britiſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean, and who was ſuppoſed to be reſtricted by the inſtructions he had received from the miniſtry, though in fact his want of ſucceſs was owing to accident. Admiral Vernon had written from the Weſt-Indies to his private friends, that he was neglected, and in danger of being ſacrificed. Notwithſtanding the numerous navy which the nation maintained, the Spaniſh privateers made prize of the Britiſh merchant ſhips with impunity. In violation of treaties, and in contempt of that intimate connection which had

BOOK II. 1740. had been ſo long cultivated between the French and Engliſh miniſtry, the King of France had ordered the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk to be repaired: his fleet had ſailed to the Weſt-Indies, in conjunction with that of Spain; and the merchants of England began to tremble for Jamaica: finally, commerce was in a manner ſuſpended, by the practice of preſſing ſailors into the ſervice, and by the embargo which had been laid upon ſhips, in all the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. Theſe cauſes of popular diſcontent, added to other complaints which had been ſo long repeated againſt the Miniſter, exaggerated and inculcated by his enemies with unwearied induſtry, at length rendered him ſo univerſally odious, that his name was ſeldom or never mentioned with decency, except by his own dependents.

§ XXXV. The country party in Parliament ſeized this opportunity of vengeance. Mr. Sandys went up to Sir Robert Walpole in the Houſe, and told him, that on Friday next he ſhould bring a charge againſt him in publick. The Miniſter ſeemed to be ſurpriſed at this unexpected intimation: but, after a ſhort pauſe, thanked him politely for this previous notice, and ſaid he deſired no favour, but fair play*. Mr. Sandys, at the time which he had appointed for this accuſation, ſtood up, and in a ſtudied ſpeech entered into a long deduction of the miniſter's miſconduct. He inſiſted upon the diſcontents of the nation, in conſequence of the meaſures which had been for many years purſued at home and abroad. He profeſſed his belief that there was not a gentleman in the Houſe who did not know that one ſingle perſon in the adminiſtration was the chief, if not the

* Upon this occaſion he miſquoted Horace. "As I am not conſcious of any crime (ſaid he) I do not doubt of being able to make a proper defence. *Nil conſcire ſibi nulli palleſcere culpæ.*" He was corrected by Mr. Pulteney; but inſiſted upon his being in the right, and actually laid a wager on the juſtneſs of his quotation.

ſole

ſole adviſer and promoter of all thoſe meaſures. CHAP. VI. 1740.
"This (added he) is known without doors, as well
"as within; therefore, the diſcontents, the re-
"proaches, and even the curſes of the people, are
"all directed againſt that ſingle perſon. They com-
"plain of preſent meaſures: they have ſuffered by
"paſt meaſures: they expect no redreſs; they expect
"no alteration or amendment, whilſt he has a ſhare
"in directing or adviſing our future adminiſtration.
"Theſe, Sir, are the ſentiments of the people in
"regard to that miniſter: theſe ſentiments we are
"in honour and duty bound to repreſent to his Ma-
"jeſty; and the proper method for doing this, as
"eſtabliſhed by our conſtitution, is to addreſs his
"Majeſty to remove him from his councils." He then proceeded to explain the particulars of the miniſter's miſconduct in the whole ſeries of his negociations abroad. He charged him with having endeavoured to ſupport his own intereſt, and to erect a kind of deſpotick government, by the practice of corruption; with having betrayed the intereſt and honour of Great-Britain in the late convention; with having neglected to proſecute the war againſt Spain; and he concluded with a motion for an addreſs to the King, that he would be pleaſed to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his preſence and councils for ever. He was anſwered by Mr. Pelham, who undertook to defend or excuſe all the meaſures which the other had condemned; and acquitted himſelf as a warm friend and unſhaken adherent. Againſt this champion Sir John Barnard entered the liſts, and was ſuſtained by Mr. Pulteney, who, with equal ſpirit and preciſion, pointed out and expoſed all the material errors and mal-practices of the adminiſtration. Sir Robert Walpole ſpoke with great temper and deliberation in behalf of himſelf. With reſpect to the article of bribery and corruption, he ſaid if any one inſtance had been mentioned; if it had been ſhown that he ever offered a reward to any member of either

BOOK II. 1740. either House, or ever threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence his voting in Parlirment, there might have been some ground for this charge; but when it was so generally laid, he did not know what he could say to it, unless to deny it as generally and as positively as it had been asserted.—Such a declaration as this, in the hearing of so many persons, who not only knew, but subsisted by his wages of corruption, was a strong proof of the minister's being dead to all sense of shame, and all regard to veracity. The debate was protracted by the Court members till three o'clock in the morning, when about sixty of the opposite party having retired, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority.

§ XXXVI. A bill was brought in for prohibiting the practice of insuring ships belonging to the enemies of the nation; but it was vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and Mr. Willimot, who demonstrated that this kind of traffick was advantageous to the kingdom; and the scheme was dropped. Another warm contest arose upon a clause of the mutiny-bill, relating to the quartering of soldiers upon inn-keepers and publicans, who complained of their being distressed in furnishing those guests with provisions and necessaries at the rates prescribed by law or custom. There were not wanting advocates to expatiate upon the nature of this grievance, which, however, was not redressed. A new trade was at this time opened with Persia, through the dominions of the Czar, and vested with an exclusive privilege in the Russian company, by an act of Parliament. The Commons voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about thirty thousand men for the establishment of land-forces. They provided for the subsidies granted to the King of Denmark and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and took every step which was sug-

gested

gested for the eaſe and the convenience of the government.

CHAP. VI. 1740.

§ XXXVII. The parties in the Houſe of Lords were influenced by the ſame motives which actuated the Commons. The Duke of Argyle, who had by this time reſigned all his places, declared open war againſt the miniſtry. In the beginning of the ſeſſion, the King's ſpeech was no ſooner reported by the Chancellor, than this nobleman ſtood up, and moved that a general addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, inſtead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the King's ſpeech, re-echoed from the Parliament to the Throne, with expreſſions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the meaſures of the miniſter. He ſpoke on this ſubject with an aſtoniſhing impetuoſity of eloquence, that rolled like a river which had overflowed its banks and deluged the whole adjacent country. The motion was ſupported by Lord Bathurſt, Lord Carteret, the Earl of Cheſterfield, and Lord Gower, who, though they diſplayed all the talents of oratory, were out-voted by the oppoſite party, headed by the Duke of Newcaſtle, the Earl of Cholmondeley, Lord Hervey, and the Lord Chancellor. The motion was rejected, and the addreſs compoſed in the uſual ſtrain. The ſame motions for an enquiry into orders and inſtructions which had miſcarried in the Lower Houſe, were here repeated with the ſame bad ſucceſs: in the debates, which enſued, the young Earls of Hallifax and Sandwich acquired a conſiderable ſhare of reputation, for the ſtrength of argument and elocution with which they contended againſt the adherents of the miniſtry. When the Houſe took into conſideration the ſtate of the army, the Duke of Argyle having harangued with equal ſkill and energy on military affairs, propoſed that the forces ſhould be augmented by adding new levies to the old companies, without increaſing the number of officers; as ſuch an augmentation ſerved only to

 debaſe

BOOK II. 1740. debaſe the dignity of the ſervice, by raiſing the loweſt of mankind to the rank of gentlemen; and to extend the influence of the miniſter, by multiplying his dependents. He, therefore, moved for a reſolution, that the augmenting the army by raiſing regiments, as it is the moſt unneceſſary and moſt expenſive methods of augmentation, was alſo the moſt dangerous to the liberties of the nation. This propoſal was likewiſe over-ruled, after a ſhort though warm contention. This was the fate of all the other motions made by the Lords in the oppoſition, though the victory of the Courtiers was always clogged with a nervous and ſpirited proteſt. Two days were expended in the debate produced by Lord Carteret's motion for an addreſs, beſeeching his Majeſty to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his preſence and councils for ever. The ſpeech that uſhered in this memorable motion would not have diſgraced a Cicero. It contained a retroſpect of all the publick meaſures which had been purſued ſince the Revolution. It explained the nature of every treaty, whether right or wrong, which had been concluded under the preſent adminiſtration. It deſcribed the political connections ſubſiſting between the different Powers in Europe. It expoſed the weakneſs, the miſconduct, and the iniquity of the Miniſter, both in his foreign and domeſtick tranſactions. It was embelliſhed with all the ornaments of rhetorick, and warmed with a noble ſpirit of patriotic indignation. The Duke of Argyle, Lord Bathurſt, and his other colleagues, ſeemed to be animated with uncommon An. 1741. fervour, and even inſpired, by the ſubject. A man of imagination, in reading their ſpeeches, will think himſelf tranſported into the Roman ſenate, before the ruin of that republick. Nevertheleſs, the Miniſter ſtill triumphed by dint of numbers; though his victory was dearly purchaſed. Thirty Peers entered a vigorous proteſt; and Walpole's character ſuſtained ſuch a rude ſhock from this oppoſition,

that

that his authority ſeemed to be drawing near a period. Immediately after this conteſt was decided, the Duke of Marlborough moved for a reſolution, that any attempt to inflict any kind of puniſhment on any perſon, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof of any crime or miſdemeanour committed by him, is contrary to natural juſtice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient eſtabliſhed uſage of Parliament; and is a high infringement of the liberties of the ſubject. It was ſeconded by the Duke of Devonſhire and Lord Lovel; and oppoſed by Lord Gower, as an intended cenſure on the proceedings of the day. This ſentiment was ſo warmly eſpouſed by Lord Talbot, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the former debate, that he ſeemed to be tranſported beyond the bounds of moderation. He was interrupted by the Earl of Cholmondeley, who charged him with having violated the order and decorum which ought to be preſerved in ſuch an aſſembly. His paſſion was inflamed by this rebuke: he declared himſelf an independent Lord; a character which he would not forfeit for the ſmiles of a Court, the profit of an employment, or the reward of a penſion: he ſaid, when he was engaged on the ſide of truth, he would trample on the inſolence that ſhould command him to ſuppreſs his ſentiments.—On a diviſion, however, the motion was carried.

CHAP. VI. 1741.

§ XXXVIII. In the beginning of April, the King repairing to the Houſe of Peers, paſſed ſome acts that were ready for the Royal aſſent. Then, in his ſpeech to both Houſes, he gave them to underſtand, that the Queen of Hungary had made a requiſition of the twelve thouſand men ſtipulated by treaty; and that he had ordered the ſubſidy-troops of Denmark and Heſſe-Caſſel to be in readineſs to march to her aſſiſtance. He obſerved, that in this complicated and uncertain ſtate of affairs, many incidents might ariſe, and render it neceſſary for him to

BOOK II. 1741.

to incur extraordinary expences for maintaining the pragmatick ſanction, at a time when he could not poſſibly have recourſe to the advice and aſſiſtance of his Parliament. He, therefore, demanded of the Commons ſuch a ſupply as might be requiſite for theſe ends; and promiſed to manage it with all poſſible frugality. The Lower Houſe, in their addreſs, approved of all his meaſures; declared they would effectually ſupport him againſt all inſults and attacks that might be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the Crown of Great-Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to the ſupport of the Queen of Hungary. Sir Robert Walpole moved, that an aid of two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to that Princeſs. Mr. Shippen proteſted againſt any interpoſition in the affairs of Germany. He expreſſed his diſlike of the promiſe which had been made to defend his Majeſty's foreign dominions; a promiſe, in his opinion, inconſiſtent with that important and inviolable law, the Act of Settlement: a promiſe which, could it have been foreknown, would perhaps have for ever precluded from the ſucceſſion that illuſtrious Family to which the nation owed ſuch numberleſs bleſſings, ſuch continued felicity. The motion however paſſed, though not without further oppoſition; and the Houſe reſolved, that three hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, to enable him effectually to ſupport the Queen of Hungary. Towards the expence of this year, a million was deducted from the ſinking-fund; and the land-tax continued at four ſhillings in the pound. The preparations for this war had already coſt five millions. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the twenty-fifth day of April, when the King took his leave of this Parliament, with warm expreſſions of tenderneſs and ſatisfaction. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three members of the Lower Houſe, who had ſignalized

nalized themſelves in defence of the Miniſter, were now ennobled, and created Barons of Montford, Ilcheſter, and Chedworth. A camp was formed near Colcheſter: and the King having appointed a regency, ſet out in May for his German dominions*. CHAP. VI. 1741.

* Sir William Wyndham died the preceding year, deeply regretted as an orator, a patriot, and a man, the conſtant aſſerter of Britiſh liberty, and one of the chief ornaments of the Engliſh nation. In the courſe of the ſame year, General Oglethorpe, Governor of Georgia, had, with ſome ſuccours obtained from the colony of Carolina, and a ſmall ſquadron of King's ſhips, made an attempt upon Fort Auguſtine, the capital of Spaniſh Florida; and actually reduced ſome ſmall forts in the neighbourhood of the place; but the Carolinians withdrawing in diſguſt, diſſenſions prevailing among the ſea-officers, the hurricane months approaching, and the enemy having received a ſupply and reinforcement, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to Georgia.

CHAP. VII.

§ I. *The army under Lord Cathcart and Sir Chaloner Ogle proceeds to the West-Indies.* § II. *Nature of the climate on the Spanish main.* § III. *Admiral Vernon sails to Carthagena.* § IV. *Attack of Fort Lazar.* § V. *Expedition to Cuba.* § VI. *Rupture between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia.* § VII. *Battle of Molwitz.* § VIII. *The King of Great-Britain concludes a treaty of neutrality with France for the electorate of Hanover.* § IX. *A body of French forces join the Elector of Bavaria.* § X. *He is crowned King of Bohemia at Prague.* § XI. *Fidelity of the Hungarians.* § XII. *War between Russia and Sweden.* § XIII. *Revolution in Russia.* § XIV. *The Spanish and French squadrons pass unmolested by the English Admiral in the Mediterranean.* § XV. *Inactivity of the naval power of Great-Britain.* § XVI. *Obstinate struggle in electing members in the new Parliament.* § XVII. *Remarkable motion in the House of Commons by Lord Noel Somerset.* § XVIII. *The country party obtain a majority in the House of Commons.* § XIX. *Sir Robert Walpole created Earl of Orford.* § XX. *Change in the ministry.* § XXI. *Enquiry into the administration of Sir Robert Walpole.* § XXII. *Obstructed by the new ministry.* § XXIII. *Reports of the secret committee.* § XXIV. *The Elector of Bavaria chosen Emperor.* § XXV. *The King of Prussia gains the battle at Czaslaw. Treaty at Breslaw.* § XXVI. *The French troops retire under the cannon of Prague. A fresh body sent with the Mareschal de Maillebois to bring them off.*— § XXVII. *Extraordinary retreat of M. de Belleisle.* § XXVIII. *The King of Great-Britain forms an army in Flanders.* § XXIX. *Progress of the war between Russia and Sweden.* § XXX. *The*

King

King of Sardinia declares for the House of Austria. § XXXI. *Motions of the Spaniards in Italy and Savoy.* § XXXII. *Conduct of Admiral Matthews in the Mediterranean.* § XXXIII. *Operations in the West-Indies.* § XXXIV. *The attention of the ministry turned chiefly on the affairs of the Continent.* § XXXV. *Extraordinary motion in the House of Lords by Earl Stanhope.* § XXXVI. *Warm and obstinate debate on the repeal of the Gin-act.* § XXXVII. *Bill for quieting Corporations.* § XXXVIII. *Convention between the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary.* § XXXIX. *Difference between the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover.* § XL. *The King of Great-Britain obtains a victory over the French at Dettingen.* § XLI. *Treaty of Worms.* § XLII. *Conclusion of the campaign.* § XLIII. *Affairs in the North.* § XLIV. *Battle of Campo-Santo.* § XLV. *Transactions of the British fleet in the Mediterranean.* § XLVI. *Unsuccessful attempts upon the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies.*

CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ I. THE British armament had by this time proceeded to action in the West-Indies. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who sailed from Spithead, had been overtaken by a tempest in the bay of Biscay, by which the fleet consisting of about one hundred and seventy sail, were scattered and dispersed. Nevertheless, he prosecuted his voyage, and anchored with a view to provide wood and water, in the neutral island of Dominica, where the intended expedition sustained a terrible shock in the death of the gallant Lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dysentery. The loss of this nobleman was the more severely felt, as the command of the land-forces devolved upon General Wentworth, an officer without experience, authority, and resolution. As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered;

and

BOOK II. 1741. and Sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chase, while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As those strange ships refused to bring to, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the Commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued. After they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron, which had sailed from Europe, under the command of the Marquis d'Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish Admiral, De Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England; therefore hostilities ceased: the English and French Commanders complimented each other; excused themselves mutually, for the mistake which had happened; and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides.

§ II. In the mean time Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, where he joined Vice-Admiral Vernon, who now found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army that ever visited those seas, with full power to act at discretion. The conjoined squadrons consisted of nine-and-twenty ships of the line, with almost an equal number of frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, well manned, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, stores, and necessaries. The number of seamen amounted to fifteen thousand: that of the land-forces, including the American regiment of four battalions, and a body of negroes inlisted at Jamaica, did not fall short of twelve thousand. Had this armament been ready to act in the proper season of the year, under the conduct of wise, experienced officers, united in councils, and steadily attached to the interest and honour of their country, the Havannah, and whole island of Cuba, might have been easily reduced: the whole treasure of the Spanish West-

Indies

Indies would have been intercepted; and Spain CHAP. VII. 1741.
muſt have been humbled into the moſt abject ſubmiſſion. But ſeveral unfavourable circumſtances concurred to fruſtrate the hopes of the publick. The miniſtry had detained Sir Chaloner Ogle at Spithead without any viſible cauſe, until the ſeaſon for action was almoſt exhauſted: for, on the continent of new Spain, the periodical rains begin about the end of April; and this change in the atmoſphere is always attended with epidemical diſtempers which render the climate extremely unhealthy: beſides, the rain is ſo exceſſive, that for the ſpace of two months no army can keep the field.

§ III. Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the ninth day of January; and Admiral Vernon did not ſail on his intended expedition till towards the end of the month. Inſtead of directing his courſe to the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in leſs than three days, he reſolved to beat up againſt the wind to Hiſpaniola, in order to obſerve the motion of the French ſquadron, commanded by the Marquis D'Antin. The fifteenth day of February had elapſed before he received certain information that the French Admiral had ſailed for Europe, in great diſtreſs, for want of men and proviſions, which he could not procure in the Weſt-Indies. Admiral Vernon, thus diſappointed, called a council of war, in which it was determined to proceed for Carthagena. The fleet being ſupplied with wood and water at Hiſpaniola, ſet ſail for the continent of New Spain, and on the fourth of March anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagena. Admiral de Torres had already ſailed to the Havannah: but Carthagena was ſtrongly fortified, and the garriſon reinforced by the crews of a ſmall ſquadron of large ſhips, commanded by Don Blas de Leſo, an officer of experience and reputation. Here the Engliſh Admiral lay inactive till the ninth, when the troops were landed on the iſland of Tierra

BOOK II. 1741.

Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Boca-chica or Little-mouth, which was furprizingly fortified with caftles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and fhips of war. The Britifh forces erected a battery on fhore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the Admiral fent in a number of fhips to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavours of the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of thefe fhips, was flain on this occafion. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack: but the forts and batteries were abandoned: the Spanifh fhips that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were deftroyed or taken: the paffage was opened, and the fleet entered without farther oppofition. Then the forces were reimbarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were oppofed by about feven hundred Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The Admiral and General had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expreffing their mutual diflike: far from acting vigoroufly in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual referve, and feparate cabals: and each proved more eager for the difgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of the nation.

§ IV. The General complained that the fleet lay idle while his troops were haraffed and diminifhed by hard duty and diftemper. The Admiral affirmed, that his fhips could not lie near enough to batter the town of Carthagena: he upbraided the General with inactivity and want of refolution to attack the fort of St. Lazar which commanded the town, and might be taken by fcalade. Wentworth, ftimulated by thefe reproaches, refolved to try the experiment. His forces marched up to the attack: but the guides being flain, they miftook their route, and advanced to the ftrongeft part of the fortification, where they

6 were

were moreover expoſed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded: the ſcaling-ladders were found too ſhort: the officers were perplexed for want of orders and directions: yet the ſoldiers ſuſtained a ſevere fire for ſeveral hours with ſurpriſing intrepidity, and at length retreated, leaving about ſix hundred killed or wounded on the ſpot. Their number was now ſo much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on ſhore: beſides, the rainy ſeaſon had begun with ſuch violence, as rendered it impoſſible for them to live in camp. They, were, therefore, reimbarked: and all hope of further ſucceſs immediately vaniſhed. The Admiral, however, in order to demonſtrate the impracticability of taking the place by ſea, ſent in the Gallicia, one of the Spaniſh ſhips which had been taken at Boca-chica, to cannonade the town, with ſixteen guns mounted on one ſide, like a floating battery. This veſſel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ſhips, and commanded by Captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day, at a conſiderable diſtance from the walls, in very ſhallow water. In this poſition ſhe ſtood the fire of ſeveral batteries for ſome hours, without doing or ſuſtaining much damage: then the Admiral ordered the men to be brought off in boats, and the cables to be cut; ſo that ſhe drove with the ſea-breeze upon a ſhoal, where ſhe was ſoon filled with water. This exploit was abſurd, and the inference which the Admiral drew from it altogether fallacious. He ſaid it plainly proved, that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour, ſufficient to admit large ſhips near enough to batter the town with any proſpect of ſucceſs. This, indeed, was the caſe in that part of the harbour to which the Gallicia was conducted: but a little farther to the left, he might have ſtationed four or five of his largeſt ſhips a-breaſt, within piſtol-ſhot of the walls;

CHAP. VII.

1741.

BOOK II. 1741. walls; and if this ſtep had been taken, when the land-forces marched to the attack of St. Lazar, in all probability the town would have been ſurrendered.

§ V. After the reimbarkation of the troops, the diſtempers peculiar to the climate and ſeaſon began to rage with redoubled fury; and great numbers of thoſe who eſcaped the vengeance of the enemy periſhed by a more painful and inglorious fate. Nothing was heard but complaints and execrations: the groans of the dying, and the ſervice for the dead: nothing was ſeen but objects of woe, and images of dejection. The conductors of this unfortunate expedition, agreed in nothing but the expediency of a ſpeedy retreat from this ſcene of miſery and diſgrace. The fortifications of the harbour were demoliſhed, and the fleet returned to Jamaica.—The miſcarriage of this expedition, which had coſt the nation an immenſe ſum of money, was no ſooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and diſcontent, and the people were depreſſed in proportion to that ſanguine hope by which they had been elevated. Admiral Vernon, inſtead of undertaking any enterprize which might have retrieved the honour of the Britiſh arms, ſet ſail from Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored at the ſouth-eaſt part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he beſtowed the appellation of Cumberland Harbour. The troops were landed, and encamped at the diſtance of twenty miles further up the river, where they remained totally inactive, and ſubſiſted chiefly on ſalt and damaged proviſions, till the month of November, when, being conſiderably diminiſhed by ſickneſs, they were put on board again, and re-conveyed to Jamaica. He was afterwards reinforced from England by four ſhips of war, and about three thouſand ſoldiers: but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired;

and

and the people began to perceive that they had mistaken his character. CHAP. VII.

1741.

§ VI. The affairs on the continent of Europe were now more than ever embroiled. The King of Prussia had demanded of the Court of Vienna part of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity, which were either obsolete or annulled: and promised to assist the Queen with all his forces, in case she should comply with his demand: but this being rejected with disdain, he entered Silesia at the head of an army, and prosecuted his conquests with great rapidity. In the mean time, the Queen of Hungary was crowned at Presburgh, after having signed a capitulation, by which the liberties of that kingdom were confirmed; and the Grand Duke her consort was, at her request, associated with her for ten years in the government. At the same time the States of Hungary refused to receive a memorial from the Elector of Bavaria. During these transactions, his Prussian Majesty made his publick entrance into Breslau, and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants. One of his Generals surprized the town and fortress of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary: Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the place by scalade, made the Generals Wallis and Reyski prisoners, with a thousand men that were in garrison: here, likewise, the victor found the military chest, fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

§ VII. The Queen of Hungary had solicited the maritime powers for assistance, but found them fearful and backward. Being obliged, therefore, to exert herself with the more vigour, she ordered Count Neuperg to assemble a body of forces, and endeavour to stop the progress of the Prussians in Silesia. The two armies encountered each other in the neighbourhood of Neiss, at a village called Mol-

witz

BOOK II. 1741.

witz, and, after an obstinate dispute, the Austrians were obliged to retire, with the loss of four thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. The advantage was dearly purchased by the King of Prussia. His kinsman, Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburgh, and Lieutenant-General Schuylemberg, were killed in the engagement, together with a great number of general officers, and about two thousand soldiers. After this action, Brieg was surrendered to the Prussian, and he forced the important pass of Fryewalde, which was defended by four thousand Austrian hussars. The English and Dutch ministers, who accompanied him in his progress, spared no pains to effect an accommodation: but the two Sovereigns were too much irritated against each other to acquiesce in any terms that could be proposed. The Queen of Hungary was incensed to find herself attacked, in the day of her distress, by a Prince to whom she had given no sort of provocation; and his Prussian Majesty charged the Court of Vienna with a design either to assassinate, or carry him off by treachery: a design which was disowned with expressions of indignation and disdain. Count Neuperg being obliged to abandon Silesia, in order to oppose the Bavarian arms in Bohemia, the King of Prussia sent thither a detachment to join the Elector, under the command of Count Dessau, who, in his route, reduced Glatz and Neiss, almost without opposition: then his master received the homage of the Silesian States at Breslaw, and returned to Berlin. In December, the Prussian army was distributed in winter-quarters in Moravia, after having taken Olmutz, the capital of that Province; and in March his Prussian Majesty formed a camp of observation in the neighbourhood of Magdeburgh.

§ VIII. The Elector of Hanover was alarmed at the success of the King of Prussia, in apprehension that he would become too formidable a neighbour. A scheme was said to have been proposed to the Court

Court of Vienna, for attacking that Prince's electoral dominions, and dividing the conqueſt: but it never was put in execution. Nevertheleſs, the troops of Hanover were augmented: the auxiliary Danes and Heſſians in the pay of Great-Britain were ordered to be in readineſs to march; and a good number of Britiſh forces encamped and prepared for embarkation. The ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand pounds, granted by Parliament, was remitted to the Queen of Hungary; and every thing ſeemed to preſage the vigorous interpoſition of his Britannick Majeſty. But in a little time after his arrival at Hanover, that ſpirit of action ſeemed to flag, even while her Hungarian Majeſty tottered on the verge of ruin. France reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of cruſhing the Houſe of Auſtria. In order to intimidate the Elector of Hanover, Mareſchal Mallebois was ſent with a numerous army into Weſtphalia; and this expedient proved effectual. A treaty of neutrality was concluded: and the King of Great-Britain engaged to vote for the Elector of Bavaria at the enſuing election of an Emperor. The deſign of the French Court was to raiſe this Prince to the Imperial dignity, and furniſh him with ſuch ſuccours as ſhould enable him to deprive the Queen of Hungary of her hereditary dominions.

§ IX. While the French miniſter at Vienna endeavoured to amuſe the Queen with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his Maſter's friendſhip, a body of five-and-thirty thouſand men began their march for Germany, in order to join the Elector of Bavaria: another French army was aſſembled upon the Rhine; and the Count de Belleiſle being provided with large ſums of money, was ſent to negociate with different Electors. Having thus ſecured a majorito of voices, he proceeded to Munich, where he preſented the Elector of Bavaria with a commiſſion, appointing him Generaliſſimo of the French troops marching to his aſſiſtance: and now the treaty of Nymphenburgh was

BOOK II. 1741. was concluded. The French King engaged to aſſiſt the Elector with his whole power, towards raiſing him to the Imperial throne: the Elector promiſed, that after his elevation he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the Empire which France had conquered: that he would in his Imperial capacity, renounce the barrier-treaty; and agree that France ſhould irrevocably retain whatever places ſhe ſhould ſubdue in the Auſtrian Netherlands. The next ſtep of Belleiſle was to negociate another treaty between France and Pruſſia, importing, That the Elector of Bavaria ſhould poſſeſs Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the Tyroleſe: That the King of Poland ſhould be gratified with Moravia and Upper Sileſia; and that his Pruſſian Majeſty ſhould retain Lower Sileſia, with the town of Neiſs and the county of Glatz. Theſe precautions being taken, the Count de Belleiſle repaired to Franckfort, in quality of Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary from France, at the Imperial diet of election. It was in this city that the French King publiſhed a declaration, ſignifying, that as the King of Great-Britain had aſſembled an army to influence the approaching election of an Emperor, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, had ordered ſome troops to advance towards the Rhine, with a view to maintain the tranquillity of the Germanick body, and ſecure the freedom of the Imperial election.

§ X. In July, the Elector of Bavaria being joined by the French forces under Mareſchal Broglio, ſurprized the Imperial city of Paſſau, upon the Danube: and entering Upper Auſtria, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men, took poſſeſſion of Lintz, where he received the homage of the States of that country. Underſtanding that the garriſon of Vienna was very numerous, and that Count Palfi had aſſembled thirty thouſand Hungarians in the neighbourhood of this capital, he made no farther progreſs

grefs in Auftria, but marched into Bohemia, where he was reinforced by a confiderable body of Saxons, under the command of Count Rutowfki, natural fon to the late King of Poland. By this time his Polifh Majefty had acceded to the treaty of Nymphenbourg, and declared war againft the Queen of Hungary, on the moft frivolous pretences. The Elector of Bavaria advanced to Prague, which was taken in the night by fcalade: an atchievement in which Maurice Count of Saxe, another natural fon of the King of Poland, diftinguifhed himfelf at the head of the French forces. In December the Elector of Bavaria made his publick entry into his capital, where he was proclaimed King of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the ufual folemnities; then he fet out for Franckfort, to be prefent at the diet of election. CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ XI. At this period the Queen of Hungary faw herfelf abandoned by all her Allies, and feemingly devoted to deftruction. She was not, however, forfaken by her courage; nor deftitute of good officers, and an able miniftry. She retired to Prefburgh, and in a pathetick Latin fpeech to the States, expreffed her confidence in the loyalty and valour of her Hungarian fubjects. The nobility of that kingdom, touched with her prefence and diftrefs, affured her, unanimoufly, that they would facrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The ban being raifed, that brave people crowded to her ftandard; and the diet expreffed their fentiments againft her enemy by a publick edict, excluding for ever the electoral Houfe of Bavaria from the fucceffion to the Crown of Hungary: yet, without the fubfidy fhe received from Great-Britain, their courage and attachment would have proved ineffectual. By this fupply fhe was enabled to pay her army, erect magazines, complete her warlike preparations, and put her ftrong places in a pofture of defence. In December, her Generals, Berenclau and Mentzel, defeated Count Thoring,

BOOK II. 1741. Thoring, who commanded eight thousand men, at the pass of Scardingen, and opening their way into Bavaria, laid the whole country under contribution; while Count Khevenhuller retook the city of Lintz, and drove the French troops out of Austria. The Grand Signor assured the Queen of Hungary, that far from taking advantage of her troubles, he should seize all opportunities to convince her of his friendship; the Pope permitted her to levy a tenth on the revenues of the clergy within her dominions; and even to use all the church-plate for the support of the war.

§ XII. As the Czarina expressed an inclination to assist this unfortunate Princess, the French court resolved to find her employment in another quarter. They had already gained over to their interest Count Gyllenburgh, Prime-Minister and President of the Chancery in Sweden. A dispute happening between him and Mr. Burnaby, the British resident at Stockholm, some warm altercation passed: Mr. Burnaby was forbid the court, and published a memorial in his own vindication; on the other hand, the King of Sweden justified his conduct in a rescript sent to all the foreign ministers. The King of Great-Britain had proposed a subsidy-treaty to Sweden, which, from the influence of French councils, was rejected. The Swedes having assembled a numerous army in Finland, and equipped a large squadron of ships, declared war against Russia, upon the most trifling pretences; and the fleet putting to sea, commenced hostilities by blocking up the Russian ports in Livonia. A body of eleven thousand Swedes commanded by General Wrangle, having advanced to Willmenstrand, were, in August, attacked and defeated by General Lasci, at the head of thirty thousand Russians. Count Lewenhaupt, who commanded the main army of the Swedes, resolved to take vengeance for this disgrace, after the Russian troops had retired into winter-quarters. In December

ber he marched towards Wybourg: but receiving letters from the Prince of Heſſe-Hombourg and the Marquis de la Chetardie, the French ambaſſador at Peterſburgh, informing him of the ſurpriſing revolution which had juſt happened in Ruſſia, and propoſing a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; he retreated with his army, in order to wait for further inſtructions; and the two courts agreed to a ceſſation of arms for three months.

§ XII. The Ruſſians had been for ſome time diſcontented with their government. The late Czarina, was influenced chiefly by German councils, and employed a great number of foreigners in her ſervice. Theſe cauſes of diſcontent produced factions and conſpiracies; and when they were diſcovered, the Empreſs treated the authors of them with ſuch ſeverity as increaſed the general diſaffection. Beſides, they were diſpleaſed at the manner in which ſhe had ſettled the ſucceſſion. The Prince of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh Bevern, father to the young Czar, was not at all agreeable to the Ruſſian nobility, and his conſort, the Princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, having aſſumed the reigns of government during her ſon's minority, ſeemed to follow the maxims of her aunt, the late Czarina. The Ruſſian grandees and generals, therefore, turned their eyes upon the Princeſs Elizabeth, who was daughter of Peter the Great, and the darling of the Empire. The French Ambaſſador gladly concurred in a project for depoſing a Princeſs who was well affected to the Houſe of Auſtria. General Laſci approved of the deſign, which was chiefly conducted by the Prince of Heſſe-Hombourg, who, in the reigns of the Empreſs Catherine and Peter II. had been generaliſſimo of the Ruſſian army. The good-will and concurrence of the troops being ſecured, two regiments of guards took poſſeſſion of all the avenues of the Imperial palace at Peterſburgh. The Princeſs Elizabeth, putting herſelf at the head of one thouſand men, on the

BOOK II. 1741.

the fifth day of December entered the winter palace, where the Princeſs of Mecklenburgh and the infant Czar reſided. She advanced into the chamber where the Princeſs and her conſort lay, and deſired them to riſe, and quit the palace, adding that their perſons were ſafe; and that they could not juſtly blame her for aſſerting her right. At the ſame time, the Counts Oſterman, Golofhairkin, Mingden, and Munich, were arreſted; their papers and effects were ſeized, and their perſons conveyed to Schliſſelbourg, a fortreſs on the Neva. Early in the morning the ſenate aſſembling, declared all that had paſſed ſince the reign of Peter II. to be uſurpation; and that the Imperial dignity belonged of right to the Princeſs Elizabeth: ſhe was immediately proclaimed Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and recognized by the army in Finland. She forthwith publiſhed a general act of indemnity: ſhe created the Prince of Heſſe-Hombourg generaliſſimo of her armies; ſhe reſtored the Dolgorucky family to their honours and eſtates: ſhe recalled and rewarded all thoſe who had been baniſhed for favouring her pretenſions: ſhe mitigated the exile of the Duke of Courland, by indulging him with a maintenance more ſuitable to his rank: ſhe releaſed General Wrangle, Count Waſaburg, and the other Swediſh officers, who had been taken at the battle of Willmenſtrand: and the Princeſs Ann of Mecklenburgh, with her conſort and children, were ſent under a ſtrong guard to Riga, the capital of Livonia.

§ XIV. Amidſt theſe tempeſts of war and revolution, the States-General wiſely determined to preſerve their own tranquillity. It was, doubtleſs, their intereſt to avoid the dangers and expence of a war, and to profit by that ſtagnation of commerce which would neceſſarily happen among their neighbours that were at open enmity with each other: beſides, they were over-awed by the declarations of the French monarch on one ſide; by the power,

activity,

activity, and pretensions of his Prussian Majesty on the other; and they dreaded the prospect of a Stadtholder at the head of their army. These at least were the sentiments of many Dutch patriots, reinforced by others that acted under French influence. But the Prince of Orange numbered among his partisans and adherents many persons of dignity and credit in the commonwealth: he was adored by the populace, who loudly exclaimed against their governors, and clamoured for a war, without ceasing. This national spirit, joined to the remonstrances and requisitions made by the Courts of Vienna and London, obliged the States to issue orders for an augmentation of their forces: but these were executed so slowly, that neither France nor Prussia had much cause to take umbrage at their preparations. In Italy the King of Sardinia declared for the House of Austria: the republick of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French interest: the Pope, the Venetians, and the Dukedom of Tuscany were neutral: the King of Naples resolved to support the claim of his family to the Austrian dominions in Italy, and began to make preparations accordingly. His mother, the Queen of Spain, had formed a plan for erecting these dominions into a monarchy for her second son Don Philip; and a body of fifteen thousand men being embarked at Barcelona, were transported to Orbitello, under the convoy of the united squadrons of France and Spain. While Admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the straits in the night, and was joined by the French squadron from Toulon. The British Admiral sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French Admiral sent a flag of truce, to inform him that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint-expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with

CHAP. VII.

1741.

BOOK II. 1741. with his maſter's Allies. This interpoſition prevented an engagement. The combined fleets amounting to double the number of the Engliſh ſquadron, Admiral Haddock was obliged to deſiſt; and proceeded to Port Mahon, leaving the enemy to proſecute their voyage without moleſtation. The people of England were incenſed at this tranſaction, and did not ſcruple to affirm, that the hands of the Britiſh Admiral were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover*.

§ XV. The Court of Madrid ſeemed to have ſhaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly diſgraced the councils of Spain. They no ſooner learned the deſtination of Commodore Anſon, who had ſailed from Spithead in the courſe of the preceding year, than they ſent Don Pizzaro, with a more powerful ſquadron, upon the ſame voyage, to defeat his deſign. He accordingly ſteered the ſame courſe, and actually fell in with one or two ſhips of the Britiſh armament, near the ſtraits of Magellan; but he could not weather a long and furious tempeſt, through which Mr. Anſon proceeded into the South Sea. One of the Spaniſh ſhips periſhed at ſea: another was wrecked on the coaſt of Brazil: and Pizzaro bore away for the Rio de la Plata, where he arrived with the three remaining ſhips, in a ſhattered condition, after having loſt

* In the month of July two ſhips of Haddock's ſquadron falling in with three French ſhips of war, Captain Barnet, the Engliſh Commodore, ſuppoſing them to be Spaniſh regiſter ſhips, fired a ſhot, in order to bring them to; and they refuſing to comply with this ſignal, a ſharp engagement enſued; after they had fought ſeveral hours, the French commander ceaſed firing, and thought proper to come to an explanation, when he and Barnet parted with mutual apologies.

In the courſe of this year a dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered at New York, in North America. One Hewſon, a low publican, had engaged ſeveral Negroes in a deſign to deſtroy the town, and maſſacre the people. Fire was ſet to ſeveral parts of the city; nine or ten negroes were apprehended, convicted, and burned alive. Hewſon, with his wife, and a ſervant-maid privy to the plot, were found guilty and hanged, though they died proteſting their innocence.

twelve hundred men by ſickneſs and famine. The Spaniards exerted the ſame vigilance and activity in Europe. Their privateers were ſo induſtrious and ſucceſsful, that in the beginning of this year they had taken, ſince the commencement of the war, four hundred and ſeven ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of Great-Britain, valued at near four millions of piaſtres. The traders had, therefore, too much cauſe to complain, conſidering the formidable fleets which were maintained for the protection of commerce. In the courſe of the ſummer, Sir John Norris had twice ſailed towards the coaſt of Spain, at the head of a powerful ſquadron, without taking any effectual ſtep for annoying the enemy, as if the ſole intention of the miniſtry had been to expoſe the nation to the ridicule and contempt of its enemies. The inactivity of the Britiſh arms appears the more inexcuſable, when we conſider the great armaments which had been prepared. The land-forces of Great-Britain, excluſive of the Daniſh and Heſſian auxiliaries, amounted to ſixty thouſand men; and the fleet conſiſted of above one hundred ſhips of war, manned by fifty-four thouſand ſailors.

§ XVI. The general diſcontent of the people had a manifeſt influence upon the election of members for the new Parliament, which produced one of the moſt violent conteſts between the two parties, which had happened ſince the Revolution. All the adherents of the Prince of Wales concurred with the country party, in oppoſition to the miniſter; and the Duke of Argyle exerted himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully among the ſhires and boroughs of Scotland, that the partiſans of the miniſtry could not ſecure ſix members out of the whole number returned from North-Britain. They were, however, much more fortunate in the election of the ſixteen Peers, who were choſen literally according to the liſt tranſmitted from court. Inſtructions were delivered by the conſtituents to a great number of members returned for

BOOK II. 1741. cities and counties, exhorting and requiring them to oppofe a ftanding army in time of peace: to vote for the mitigation of excife laws; for the repeal of feptennial Parliaments; and for the limitation of placemen in the Houfe of Commons. They, likewife, infifted upon their examining into the particulars of the publick expence, and endeavouring to redrefs the grievances of the nation. Obftinate ftruggles were maintained in all parts of the united kingdoms with uncommon ardour and perfeverance; and fuch a national fpirit of oppofition prevailed, that, notwithftanding the whole weight of minifterial influence, the contrary intereft feemed to preponderate in the new Parliament.

§ XVII. The King returned to England in the month of October; and on the firft day of December the feffion was opened. Mr. Onflow being rechofen fpeaker was approved of by his Majefty, who fpoke in the ufual ftile to both Houfes. He obferved, that the former Parliament had formed the ftrongeft refolutions in favour of the Queen of Hungary, for the maintenance of the pragmatick fanction; for the prefervation of the balance of power, and the peace and liberties of Europe; and that if the other powers which were under the like engagements with him had anfwered the juft expectations fo folemnly given, the fupport of the common caufe would have been attended with lefs difficulty. He faid, he had endeavoured, by the moft proper and early applications, to induce other powers that were united with him by the ties of common intereft to concert fuch meafures as fo important and critical a conjuncture required: that where an accommodation feemed neceffary, he had laboured to reconcile Princes whofe union would have been the moft effectual means to prevent the mifchiefs which had happened, and the beft fecurity for the intereft and fafety of the whole. He owned his endeavours had not hitherto produced the defired effect: though he

was

was not without hope, that a juſt ſenſe of approaching danger would give a more favourable turn to the councils of other nations. He repreſented the neceſſity of putting the kingdom in ſuch a poſture of defence as would enable him to improve all opportunities of maintaining the liberties of Europe, and defeat any attempts that ſhould be made againſt him and his dominions; and he recommended unanimity, vigour, and diſpatch. The Houſe of Commons having appointed their ſeveral committees, the Speaker reported the King's ſpeech; and Mr. Herbert moved for an addreſs of thanks, including an approbation of the means by which the war had been proſecuted. The motion being ſeconded by Mr. Trevor, Lord Noel Somerſet ſtood up and moved, that the Houſe would in their addreſs deſire his Majeſty not to engage theſe kingdoms in a war for the preſervation of his foreign dominions. He was ſupported by that incorruptible patriot, Mr. Shippen, who declared he was neither aſhamed nor afraid to affirm, that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He ſaid he was grown old in the Houſe of Commons; that time had verified the predictions he had formerly uttered; and that he had ſeen his conjectures ripened into knowledge. "If my country (added he) has been "ſo unfortunate as once more to commit her inte-"reſt to men who propoſe to themſelves no advan-"tage from their truſt but that of ſelling it, I may, "perhaps, fall once more under cenſure for de-"claring my opinion, and be once more treated as "a criminal, for aſſerting what they who puniſh me "cannot deny; for maintaining that Hanoverian "maxims are inconſiſtent with the happineſs of this "nation; and for preſerving the caution ſo ſtrongly "inculcated by thoſe patriots who framed the Act "of Settlement, and conferred upon the preſent "Royal Family their title to the throne." He particularized the inſtances in which the miniſtry had acted

BOOK II. 1741. acted in diametrical oppoſition to that neceſſary conſtitution; and he inſiſted on the neceſſity of taking ſome ſtep to remove the apprehenſions of the people, who began to think themſelves in danger of being ſacrificed to the ſecurity of foreign dominions. Mr. Gibbon, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, expatiated upon the abſurdity of returning thanks for the proſecution of a war which had been egregiouſly miſmanaged. "What! (ſaid he) are "our thanks to be ſolemnly returned for defeats, "diſgrace, and loſſes, the ruin of our merchants, "the impriſonment of our ſailors, idle ſhows of ar-"maments, and uſeleſs expences?" Sir Robert Walpole having made a ſhort-ſpeech in defence of the firſt motion for an addreſs, was anſwered by Mr. Pulteney, who ſeemed to be animated with a double proportion of patriot indignation. He aſſerted, that from a review of that Miniſter's conduct ſince the beginning of the diſpute with Spain, it would appear that he had been guilty not only of ſingle errors, but of deliberate treachery: that he had always co-operated with the enemies of his country, and ſacrificed to his private intereſt the happineſs and honour of the Britiſh nation. He then entered into a detail of that conduct againſt which he had ſo often declaimed; and being tranſported by an over-heated imagination, accuſed him of perſonal attachment and affection to the enemies of the kingdom. A charge that was doubtleſs the reſult of exaggerated animoſity, and ſerved only to invalidate the other articles of imputation that were much better founded. His objections were over-ruled; and the addreſs, as at firſt propoſed, was preſented to his Majeſty.

§ XVIII. This ſmall advantage, however, the Miniſter did not conſider as a proof of his having aſcertained an undoubted majority in the Houſe of Commons. There was a great number of diſputed elections; and the diſcuſſion of theſe was the point on

on which the people had turned their eyes, as the criterion of the Miniſter's power and credit. In the firſt which was heard at the bar of the Houſe, he carried his point by a majority of ſix only; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. His enemies exulted in their ſtrength; as they knew they ſhould be joined, in matters of importance, by ſeveral members who voted againſt them on this occaſion. The inconſiderable majority that appeared on the ſide of the adminiſtration plainly proved that the influence of the Miniſter was greatly diminiſhed, and ſeemed to prognoſticate his further decline. This conſideration induced ſome individuals to declare againſt him as a ſetting ſun, from whoſe beams they could expect no further warmth. His adherents began to tremble; and he himſelf had occaſion for all his art and equanimity. The court-intereſt was not ſufficient to ſupport the election of their own members for Weſtminſter. The high-bailiff had been guilty of ſome illegal practices at the poll; and three juſtices of the peace had, on pretence of preventing riots, ſent for a military force to over-awe the election. A petition preſented by the electors of Weſtminſter was taken into conſideration by the Houſe; and the election was declared void by a majority of four voices. The high-bailiff was taken into cuſtody: the officer who ordered the ſoldiers to march, and the three juſtices who ſigned the letter, in conſequence of which he acted, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the Houſe.

§ XIX. The country-party maintained the advantage they had gained in deciding upon ſeveral other controverted elections; and Sir Robert Walpole tottered on the brink of ruin. He knew that the majority of a ſingle vote would at any time commit him priſoner to the Tower, ſhould ever the motion be made: and he ſaw that his ſafety could be effected by no other expedient but that of di-

viding

BOOK II. 1741.

viding the oppofition. Towards the accomplifhment of this purpofe he employed all his credit and dexterity. His emiffaries did not fail to tamper with thofe members of the oppofite party who were the moft likely to be converted by their arguments. A meffage was fent by the Bifhop of Oxford to the Prince of Wales, importing, That if his Royal Highnefs would write a letter of condefcenfion to the King, he and all his counfellors fhould be taken into favour; that fifty thoufand pounds fhould be added to his revenue; four times that fum be difburfed immediately for the payment of his debts; and fuitable provifion be made in due time for all his followers. The Prince declined this propofal. He declared that he would accept no fuch conditions, while Sir Robert Walpole continued to direct the publick affairs: that he looked upon him as a bar between his Majefty and the affections of his people; as the author of the national grievances both at home and abroad; and as the fole caufe of that contempt which Great-Britain had incurred in all the courts of Europe. His Royal Highnefs was now chief of this formidable party, revered by the whole nation—a party which had gained the afcendency in the Houfe of Commons; which profeffed to act upon the principles of publick virtue; which demanded the fall of an odious Minifter, as a facrifice due to an injured people; and declared that no temptation conld fhake their virtue; that no art could diffolve the cement by which they were united. Sir Robert Walpole, though repulfed in his attempt upon the Prince of Wales, was more fuccefsful in his other endeavours. He refolved to try his ftrength once more in the Houfe of Commons, in another difputed election; and had the mortification to fee the majority augmented to fixteen voices. He declared he would never more fit in that Houfe; and next day, which was the third of February, the King adjourned both Houfes of Parliament to the eighteenth

teenth day of the ſame month. In this interim Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and reſigned all his employments.

§ XX. At no time of his life did he acquit himſelf with ſuch prudential policy as he now diſplayed. He found means to ſeparate the parts that compoſed the oppoſition, and to transfer the popular odium from himſelf to thoſe who had profeſſed themſelves his keeneſt adverſaries. The country-party conſiſted of the Tories, reinforced by diſcontented Whigs, who had either been diſappointed in their own ambitious views, or felt for the diſtreſſes of their country, occaſioned by a weak and worthleſs adminiſtration. The old patriots, and the Whigs whom they had joined, acted upon very different, and, indeed, upon oppoſite principles of government; and, therefore, they were united only by the ties of convenience. A coalition was projected between the diſcontented Whigs and thoſe of the ſame denomination who acted in the miniſtry. Some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were aſſured, that in the management of affairs a new ſyſtem would be adopted, according to the plan they themſelves ſhould propoſe. The Court required nothing of them, but that the Earl of Orford ſhould eſcape with impunity. His place of Chancellor of the Exchequer was beſtowed upon Mr. Sandys, who was likewiſe appointed a Lord of the Treaſury: and the Earl of Wilmington ſucceeded him as firſt Commiſſioner of that Board. Lord Harrington being dignified with the title of Earl, was declared Preſident of the Council; and in his room Lord Carteret became Secretary of State. The Duke of Argyle was made Maſter-general of the Ordnance, Colonel of his Majeſty's Royal regiment of Horſe guards, Field-marſhal and Commander in chief of all the forces in South-Britain; but, finding himſelf diſappointed in his expectations of the coalition, he, in leſs than a month, renounced all theſe employments. The Marquis of

BOOK II. 1741. of Tweedale was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, a poſt which had been long ſuppreſſed: Mr. Pulteney was ſworn of the Privy-Council, and afterwards created Earl of Bath. The Earl of Winchelſea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the Admiralty, in the room of Sir Charles Wager; and, after the reſignation of the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Stair was appointed Field-marſhal of all his Majeſty's forces, as well as Ambaſſador-extraordinary to the States-General. On the ſeventeenth day of February the Prince of Wales, attended by a numerous retinue of his adherents, waited on his Majeſty, who received him graciouſly, and ordered his guards to be reſtored. Lord Carteret and Mr. Sandys were the firſt who embraced the offers of the Court, without the conſent or privity of any other leaders in the oppoſition, except that of Mr. Pulteney; but they declared to their friends, they would ſtill proceed upon patriot principles: that they would concur in promoting an enquiry into paſt meaſures; and in enacting neceſſary laws to ſecure the conſtitution from the practices of corruption. Theſe profeſſions were believed, not only by their old coadjutors in the Houſe of Commons, but alſo by the nation in general. The reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Wales, together with the change in the miniſtry, were celebrated with publick rejoicings all over the kingdom; and immediately after the adjournment nothing but concord appeared in the Houſe of Commons.

§ XXI. But this harmony was of ſhort duration. It ſoon appeared, that thoſe who had declaimed the loudeſt for the liberties of their country had been actuated ſolely by the moſt ſordid, and even the moſt ridiculous motives of ſelf-intereſt. Jealouſy and mutual diſtruſt enſued between them and their former confederates. The nation complained, that, inſtead of a total change of men and meaſures, they ſaw the old miniſtry ſtrengthened by this coalition; and the

the ſame intereſt in Parliament predominating with redoubled influence. They branded the new converts as apoſtates and betrayers of their country; and in the tranſports of their indignation, they entirely overlooked the old object of their reſentment. That a nobleman of pliant principles, narrow fortune, and unbounded ambition, ſhould forſake his party for the blandiſhments of affluence, power, and authority, will not appear ſtrange to any perſon acquainted with the human heart; but the ſenſible part of mankind will always reflect with amazement upon the conduct of a man, who ſeeing himſelf idolized by his fellow-citizens, as the firſt and firmeſt patriot in the kingdom, as one of the moſt ſhining ornaments of his country, could give up all his popularity, and incur the contempt or deteſtation of mankind, for the wretched conſideration of an empty title, without office, influence, or the leaſt ſubſtanſtial appendage. One cannot, without an emotion of grief, contemplate ſuch an inſtance of infatuation—One cannot but lament, that ſuch glory ſhould have been ſo weakly forfeited: that ſuch talents ſhould have been loſt to the cauſe of liberty and virtue. Doubtleſs he flattered himſelf with the hope of one day directing the councils of his Sovereign; but this was never accompliſhed, and he remained a ſolitary monument of blaſted ambition. Before the change in the miniſtry, Mr. Pulteney moved that the ſeveral papers relating to the conduct of the war, which had been laid before the Houſe, ſhould be referred to a ſelect committee, who ſhould examine ſtrictly into the particulars, and make a report to the Houſe of their remarks, and objections. The motion introduced a debate; but, upon a diviſion, was rejected by a majority of three voices. Petitions having been preſented by the merchants of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, Glaſgow, and almoſt all the trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the bad conduct of

BOOK II. 1741. the war, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to deliberate on theſe remonſtrances. The articles of the London petition were explained by Mr. Glover, an eminent merchant of that city. Six days were ſpent in peruſing papers and examining witneſſes: then the ſame gentleman ſummed up the evidence, and in a pathetic ſpeech endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the commerce of Great-Britain had been expoſed to the inſults and rapine of the Spaniards, not by inattention or accident, but by one uniform and continued deſign. This enquiry being reſumed after the adjournment, copies of inſtructions to Admirals and Captains of cruiſing ſhips were laid before the Houſe: the Commons paſſed ſeveral reſolutions, upon which a bill was prepared for the better protecting and ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom. It made its way through the Lower Houſe; but was thrown out by the Lords. The penſion-bill was revived, and ſent up to the Peers, where it was again rejected, Lord Carteret voting againſt that very meaſure which he had ſo lately endeavoured to promote. On the ninth day of March, Lord Limerick made a motion for appointing a Committee to enquire into the conduct of affairs for the laſt twenty years: he was ſeconded by Sir John St. Aubyn, and ſupported by Mr. Velters Cornwall, Mr. Phillips, Mr. W. Pitt, and Lord Percival, the new member for Weſtminſter, who had already ſignalized himſelf by his eloquence and capacity. The motion was oppoſed by Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox, Surveyor-General to his Majeſty's Works, and brother to Lord Ilcheſter. Though the oppoſition was faint and frivolous, the propoſal was rejected by a majority of two voices. Lord Limerick, not yet diſ-
An. 1742. couraged, made a motion, on the twenty-third day of March, for an enquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford for the laſt ten years of his adminiſtration; and, after a ſharp debate, it was carried in the

the affirmative. The Houſe reſolved to chooſe a ſecret committee by ballot; and in the mean time preſented an addreſs to the King, aſſuring him of their fidelity, zeal, and affection. CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXII. Sir Robert Godſchall having moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act for ſeptennial Parliaments, he was ſeconded by Sir John Barnard; but warmly oppoſed by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys; and the queſtion paſſed in the negative. The committee of ſecrecy being choſen, began to examine evidence, and Mr. Paxton, Solicitor to the Treaſury, refuſing to anſwer ſuch queſtions as were put to him, Lord Limerick, chairman of the committee, complained to the Houſe of his obſtinacy. He was firſt taken into cuſtody; and ſtill perſiſting in his refuſal, committed to Newgate. Then his Lordſhip moved, that leave ſhould be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying evidence againſt the Earl of Orford; and it was actually prepared by a deciſion of the majority. In the Houſe of Lords it was vigorouſly oppoſed by Lord Carteret, and as ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the Duke of Argyle; but fell upon a diviſion, by the weight of ſuperior numbers. Thoſe members in the Houſe of Commons who heartily wiſhed that the enquiry might be proſecuted were extremely incenſed at the fate of this bill. A committee was appointed to ſearch the Journals of the Lords for precedents: their report being read, Lord Strange, ſon of the Earl of Derby, moved for a reſolution, "That the Lords refuſing to concur with the Commons of Great-Britain, in an indemnification neceſſary to the effectual carrying on the enquiry, now depending in parliament, is an obſtruction to juſtice, and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation."—This motion, which was ſeconded by Lord Quarendon, ſon of the Earl of Lichfield, gave riſe to a warm debate; and Mr. Sandys declaimed againſt it, as a ſtep that would bring on an immediate diſſolution of the preſent

BOOK II. 1742. form of government. It is really amazing to see with what effrontery some men can shift their maxims, and openly contradict the whole tenor of their former conduct. Mr. Sandys did not pass uncensured: he sustained some severe sarcasms on his apostacy, from Sir John Hynde Cotton, who refuted all his objections: nevertheless, the motion passed in the negative. Notwithstanding this great obstruction, purposely thrown in the way of the enquiry, the secret committee discovered many flagrant instances of fraud and corruption in which the Earl of Orford had been concerned. It appeared, that he had granted fraudulent contracts for paying the troops in the West-Indies: that he had employed iniquitous arts to influence elections: that for secret-service, during the last ten years, he had touched one million four hundred fifty-three thousand four hundred pounds of publick money: that above fifty thousand pounds of this sum had been paid to authors and printers of newspapers and political tracts written in defence of the ministry: that on the very day which preceded his resignation, he had signed orders on the civil-list revenues for above thirty thousand pounds: but as the cash remaining in the Exchequer did not much exceed fourteen thousand pounds, he had raised the remaining part of the thirty thousand, by pawning the orders to a banker. The committee proceeded to make further progress in their scrutiny, and had almost prepared a third report, when they were interrupted by the prorogation of Parliament.

§ XXIII. The ministry finding it was necessary to take some step for conciliating the affection of the people, gave way to a bill for excluding certain officers from seats in the House of Commons. They passed another for encouraging the linen manufacture; a third for regulating the trade of the plantations; and a fourth to prevent the marriage of lunaticks. They voted forty thousand seamen, and sixty-two thousand

thousand five hundred landmen for the service of the current year. They provided for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, and voted five hundred thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary. The expence of the year amounted to near six millions, raised by the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, by the malt-tax, by one million from the sinking-fund, by annuities granted upon it for eight hundred thousand pounds, and a loan of one million six hundred thousand pounds from the Bank. In the month of July, John Lord Gower was appointed Keeper of his Majesty's Privy-seal: Allen Lord Bathurst was made Captain of the Band of Pensioners; and on the fifteenth day of the month, Mr. Pulteney took his seat in the House of Peers as Earl of Bath. The King closed the session in the usual way, after having given them to understand, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, under his mediation; and that the late successes of Austrian arms were in a great measure owing to the generous assistance afforded by the British nation.

CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXIV. By this time great changes had happened in the affairs of the Continent. The Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor of Germany at Franckfort on the Maine, and crowned by the name of Charles VII. on the twelfth day of February. Thither the Imperial diet was removed from Ratisbon: they confirmed his election, and indulged him with a subsidy of fifty Roman months, amounting to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling. In the mean time, the Austrian General, Khevenhuller, ravaged his electorate, and made himself master of Munich, the capital of Bavaria: he likewise laid part of the Palatinate under contribution, in resentment for that Elector's having sent a body of his troops to reinforce the Imperial army. In March, Count Saxe, with a detachment of French and Bavarians, reduced Egra; and the Austrians

BOOK II. 1742. were obliged to evacuate Bavaria, though they afterwards returned. Khevenhuller took poſt in the neighbourhood of Paſſau, and detached General Bernclau to Dingleſing on the Iſer, to obſerve the motions of the enemy, who were now become extremely formidable. In May, a detachment of French and Bavarians advanced to the caſtle of Hilkerſbergh on the Danube, with a view to take poſſeſſion of a bridge over the river: the Auſtrian garriſon immediately marched out to give them battle, and a ſevere action enſued, in which the Imperialiſts were defeated.

§ XXV. In the beginning of the year the Queen of Hungary had aſſembled two conſiderable armies in Moravia and Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of fifty thouſand men, advanced againſt the Saxons and Pruſſians, who thought proper to retire with precipitation from Moravia, which they had invaded. Then the Prince took the route to Bohemia; and Marſhal Broglio, who commanded the French forces in that country, muſt have fallen a ſacrifice, had not the King of Pruſſia received a ſtrong reinforcement, and entered that kingdom before his allies could be attacked. The two armies advanced towards each other; and on the ſeventeenth of May, joined battle at Czaſlaw, where the Auſtrians at firſt gained a manifeſt advantage, and penetrated as far as the Pruſſian baggage: then the irregulars began to plunder ſo eagerly, that they neglected every other conſideration. The Pruſſian infantry took this opportunity to rally: the battle was renewed, and, after a very obſtinate conteſt, the victory was ſnatched out of the hands of the Auſtrians, who were obliged to retire, with the loſs of five thouſand men killed, and twelve hundred taken by the enemy. The Pruſſians paid dear for the honour of remaining on the field of Battle; and from the circumſtances of this action the King is ſaid to have conceived a diſguſt to the war. When the

the Auſtrians made ſuch progreſs in the beginning of the engagement, he rode off with great expedition, until he was recalled by a meſſage from his General, the Count de Schwerin, aſſuring his Majeſty that there was no danger of a defeat. Immediately after this battle, he diſcovered an inclination to accommodate all differences with the Queen of Hungary. The Earl of Hyndford, Ambaſſador from the Court of Great-Britain, who accompanied him in this campaign, and was veſted with full powers by her Hungarian Majeſty, did not fail to cultivate this favourable diſpoſition: and on the firſt day of June, a treaty of peace between the two powers was concluded at Breſlau. The Queen ceded to his Pruſſian Majeſty the Upper and Lower Sileſia, with the county of Glatz in Bohemia; and he charged himſelf with the payment of the ſum lent by the merchants of London to the late Emperor, on the Sileſian revenues. He likewiſe engaged to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the King of Great-Britain Elector of Hanover, the Czarina, the King of Denmark, the States-General, the Houſe of Wolfenbuttle, and the King of Poland Elector of Saxony, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

§ XXVI. The King of Pruſſia recalled his troops; while Mareſchal Broglio, who commanded the French auxiliaries in that kingdom, and the Count de Belleiſle, abandoned their magazines and baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themſelves in an advantageous ſituation; and Prince Charles being joined by the other body of Auſtrians, under Prince Lobkowitz, encamped in ſight of them, on the hills of Girinſnitz. The Grand Duke of Tuſcany arrived in the Auſtrian army, of which he took the command; and the French Generals offered to ſurrender

BOOK II. 1742. ſurrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they poſſeſſed in Bohemia, provided they might be allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. The propoſal was rejected, and Prague inveſted on all ſides about the end of July. Though the operations of the ſiege were carried on in an aukward and ſlovenly manner, the place was ſo effectually blocked up, that famine muſt have compelled the French to ſurrender at diſcretion, had not very extraordinary efforts been made for their relief. The Emperor had made advances to the Queen of Hungary. He promiſed that the French forces ſhould quit Bohemia, and evacuate the empire; and he offered to renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on condition that the Auſtrians would reſtore Bavaria: but theſe conditions were declined by the Court of Vienna. The King of France was no ſooner apprized of the condition to which the Generals Broglio and Belleiſle were reduced, than he ſent orders to Marſhal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief. His troops were immediately put in motion; and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, were joined by the French and Imperialiſts from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorraine having received intelligence of their junction and deſign, left eighteen thouſand men to maintain the blockade of Prague, under the command of General Feſtititz, while he himſelf, with the reſt of his army, advanced to Haydon on the frontiers of Bohemia. There he was joined by Count Khevenhuller, who from Bavaria had followed the enemy, now commanded by Count Seckendorff, and the Count de Saxe. Seckendorff, however, was ſent back to Bavaria, while Marſhal Maillebois entered Bohemia on the twenty-fifth day of September. But he marched with ſuch precaution, that Prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. Meanwhile Feſtititz, for want of ſufficient force, was obliged

obliged to abandon the blockade of Prague; and the French Generals being now at liberty, took post at Leutmaritz. Maillebois advanced as far as Kadan: but seeing the Austrians possessed of all the passes of the mountains, he marched back to the Palatinate, and was miserably harassed in his retreat by Prince Charles, who had left a strong body with Prince Lobkowitz, to watch the motions of Belleisle and Broglio.

§ XXVII. These Generals seeing themselves surrounded on all hands, returned to Prague, from whence Broglio made his escape in the habit of a courier, and was sent to command the army of Maillebois, who was by this time disgraced. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blockade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all communication between that place and the adjacent country, that in a little time the French troops were reduced to great extremity, both from the severity of the season, and the want of provision. They were already reduced to the necessity of eating horse flesh, and unclean animals; and they had no other prospect but that of perishing by famine or war, when their Commander formed the scheme of a retreat, which was actually put in execution. Having taken some artful precautions to deceive the enemy, he, in the middle of December, departed from Prague at midnight, with about fourteen thousand men, thirty pieces of artillery, and some of the principal citizens as hostages for the safety of nine hundred soldiers whom he had left in garrison. Notwithstanding the difficulties he must have encountered at that season of the year, in a broken and unfrequented road, which he purposely chose, he marched with such expedition, that he had gained the passes of the mountains, before he was overtaken by the horse and hussars of Prince Lobkowitz. The fatigue and hardships which the miserable soldiers underwent are inexpressible. A great number perished in the

BOOK II. 1742. ſnow, and many hundreds, fainting with wearineſs, cold, and hunger, were left to the mercy of the Auſtrian irregulars, conſiſting of the moſt barbarous people on the face of the earth. The Count de Belleiſle, though tortured with the hip-gout, behaved with ſurpriſing reſolution and activity. He cauſed himſelf to be carried in a litter to every place where he thought his preſence was neceſſary, and made ſuch diſpoſitions, that the purſuers never could make an impreſſion upon the body of his troops: but all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of December, he arrived at Egra, from whence he proceeded to Alſace without further moleſtation: but, when he returned to Verſailles, he met with a very cold reception, notwithſtanding the gallant exploit which he had performed. After his eſcape, Prince Lobkowitz returned to Prague, and the ſmall garriſon which Belleiſle had left in that place ſurrendered upon honourable terms; ſo that this capital reverted to the Houſe of Auſtria.

§ XXVII. The King of Great-Britain reſolving to make a powerful diverſion in the Netherlands, had in the month of April, ordered ſixteen thouſand effective men to be embarked for that country: but, as this ſtep was taken without any previous concert with the States-General, the Earl of Stair, deſtined to the command of the forces in Flanders, was in the mean time appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to their High Mightineſſes, in order to perſuade them to co-operate vigorouſly in the plan which his Britannick Majeſty had formed: a plan by which Great-Britain was engaged as a principal in a foreign diſpute, and entailed upon herſelf the whole burthen of an expenſive war, big with ruin and diſgrace. England, from being the umpire, was now become a party in all continental quarrels; and, inſtead of trimming the balance of Europe, laviſhed away her blood and

treaſure

treasure in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in the north of Germany. The King of Prussia had been at variance with the Elector of Hanover. The duchy of Mecklenburgh was the avowed subject of dispute: but his Prussian Majesty is said to have had other more provoking causes of complaint, which, however, he did not think proper to divulge. The King of Great-Britain found it convenient to accommodate these differences. In the course of this summer, the two powers concluded a convention, in consequence of which the troops of Hanover evacuated Mecklenburgh, and three regiments of Brandenburgh took possession of those bailiwicks that were mortgaged to the King of Prussia. The Elector of Hanover being now secured from danger, sixteen thousand troops of that country, together with the six thousand auxiliary Hessians, began their march for the Netherlands; and about the middle of October arrived in the neighbourhood of Brussels, where they encamped. The Earl of Stair repaired to Ghent, where the British forces were quartered: a body of Austrians was assembled; and though the season was far advanced, he seemed determined upon some expedition: but all of a sudden the troops were sent into winter-quarters. The Austrians retired to Luxembourg: the English and Hessians remained in Flanders; and the Hanoverians marched into the county of Liege, without paying any regard to the Bishop's protestation.

CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXIX. The States-General had made a considerable augmentation of their forces by sea and land; but, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the Earl of Stair, they resolved to adhere to their neutrality: they dreaded the neighbourhood of the French; and they were far from being pleased to see the English get footing in the Netherlands. The friends of the House of Orange began to exert themselves: the States of Groningen and West-Friesland protested, in favour of the Prince, against the pro-

 motion

BOOK II. 1742.

motion of foreign Generals which had lately been made: but his intereſt was powerfully oppoſed by the provinces of Zealand and Holland, which had the greateſt weight in the republick. The revolution in Ruſſia did not put an end to the war with Sweden. Theſe two powers had agreed to an armiſtice of three months, during which the Czarina augmented her forces in Finland. She likewiſe ordered the Counts Oſterman and Munich, with their adherents, to be tried: they were condemned to death, but pardoned on the ſcaffold, and ſent in exile to Siberia. The Swedes, ſtill encouraged by the intrigues of France, refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation, unleſs Carelia, and the other conqueſts of the Czar Peter, ſhould be reſtored. The French Court had expected to bring over the new Empreſs to their meaſures: but they found her as well diſpoſed as her predeceſſor to aſſiſt the Houſe of Auſtria. She remitted a conſiderable ſum of money to the Queen of Hungary; and at that ſame time congratulated the Elector of Bavaria on his elevation to the Imperial throne. The ceremony of her coronation was performed in May, with great ſolemnity, at Moſcow; and in November ſhe declared her nephew, the Duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, her ſucceſſor, by the title of Grand Prince of all the Ruſſias. The ceſſation of arms being expired, General Laſci reduced Frederickſheim, and obliged the Swediſh army, commanded by Count Lewenhaupt, to retire before him, from one place to another, until at length they were quite ſurrounded near Helſingſors. In this emergency, the Swediſh General ſubmitted to a capitulation, by which his infantry were tranſported by ſea to Sweden; his cavalry marched by land to Abo; and his artillery and magazines remained in the hands of the Ruſſians. The King of Sweden being of an advanced age, the diet aſſembled in order to ſettle the ſucceſſion; and the Duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, as grandſon to the eldeſt

ſiſter

sister to Charles XII. was declared next heir to the Crown. A courier was immediately dispatched to Moscow, to notify to the Duke this determination of the diet: and this message was followed by a deputation; but when they understood that he had embraced the religion of the Greek church, and been acknowledged successor to the throne of Russia, they annulled his election for Sweden, and resolved that the succession should not be re-established, until a peace should be concluded with the Czarina. Conferences were opened at Abo for this purpose. In the mean time, the events of war had been so long unfortunate for Sweden, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the indignation of the people with some sacrifice. The Generals Lewenhaupt and Bodenbrock were tried by a court-martial for misconduct: being found guilty and condemned to death, they applied to the diet, by which the sentence was confirmed. The term of the subsidy-treaty between Great-Britain and Denmark expiring, his Danish Majesty refused to renew it; nor would he accede to the peace of Breslau. On the other hand, he became subsidiary to France, with which also he concluded a new treaty of commerce.

CHAP. II. 1742.

§ XXX. The Court of Versailles were now heartily tired of maintaining the war in Germany, and had actually made equitable proposals of peace to the Queen of Hungary, by whom they were rejected. Thus repulsed, they redoubled their preparations; and endeavoured, by advantageous offers, to detach the King of Sardinia from the interest of the House of Austria. This Prince had espoused a sister to the Grand Duke, who pressed him to declare for her brother, and the Queen of Hungary promised to gratify him with some territories in the Milanese: besides, he thought the Spaniards had already gained too much ground in Italy: but, at the same time, he was afraid of being crushed between France and Spain, before he could be properly

BOOK II. 1742. perly ſupported. He therefore temporiſed, and protracted the negociation, until he was alarmed at the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms in Italy, and fixed in his determination by the ſubſidies of Great-Britain. The Spaniſh army aſſembled at Rimini, under the Duke de Montemar; and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to ſixty thouſand men, furniſhed with a large train of artillery. About the beginning of May, they entered the Bologneſe: then the King of Sardinia declaring againſt them, joined the Auſtrian army commanded by Count Traun; marched into the duchy of Parma; and underſtanding that the Duke of Modena had engaged in a treaty with the Spaniards, diſpoſſeſſed that Prince of his dominions. The Duke de Montemar, ſeeing his army diminiſhed by ſickneſs and deſertion, retreated to the kingdom of Naples, and was followed by the King of Sardinia, as far as Rimini.

§ XXXI. Here he received intelligence, that Don Philip, third ſon of his Catholick Majeſty, had made an irruption into Savoy with another army of Spaniards, and already taken poſſeſſion of Chamberri, the capital. He forthwith began his march for Piedmont. Don Philip abandoned Savoy at his approach, and retreating into Dauphiné, took poſt under the cannon of fort Barreaux. The King purſued him thither, and both armies remained in ſight of each other till the month of December, when the Marquis de Minas, an active and enterpriſing General, arrived from Madrid, and took upon him the command of the forces under Don Philip. This General's firſt exploit was againſt the caſtle of Aſpremont, in the neighbourhood of the Sardinian camp. He attacked it ſo vigorouſly, that the garriſon was obliged to capitulate in four-and-forty hours. The loſs of this important poſt compelled the King to retire into Piedmont, and the Spaniards marched back into Savoy, where they eſtabliſhed their winter-quarters. In the mean time, the Duke de Montemar,

temar, who directed the other Spanish army, though the Duke of Modena was nominal Generalissimo, resigned his command to Count Gages, who attempted to penetrate into Tuscany; but was prevented by the vigilance of Count Traun, the Austrian General. In December he quartered his troops in the Bolognese and Romagna; while the Austrians and Piedmontese were distributed in the Modenese and Parmesan. The Pope was passive during the whole campaign: the Venetians maintained their neutrality, and the King of the two Sicilies was over-awed by the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

§ XXXII. The new ministry in England had sent out Admiral Matthews to assume the command of this squadron, which had been for some time conducted by Lestock, an inferior officer, as Haddock had been obliged to resign his commission, on account of his ill state of health. Matthews was likewise invested with the character of Minister-Plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia and the States of Italy. Immediately after he had taken possession of his command, he ordered Captain Norris to destroy five Spanish gallies which had put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this service was effectually performed. In May he detached Commodore Rowley, with eight sail, to cruize off the harbour of Toulon; and a great number of merchant ships belonging to the enemy fell into his hands. In August he sent Commodore Martin with another squadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unless his Sicilian Majesty would immediately recal his troops, which had joined the Spanish army, and promise to remain neuter during the continuance of the war. Naples was immediately filled with consternation; the King subscribed to these conditions; and the English squadron rejoined the Admiral on the road of Hieres, which he had chosen for his winter station. Before this period he had landed some men a St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and de-

stroyed

ſtroyed the magazines that were erected for the uſe of the Spaniſh army. He had likewiſe ordered two of his cruizers to attack a Spaniſh ſhip of the line, which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the iſland of Corſica: but the Spaniſh Captain ſet his men on ſhore, and blew up his ſhip, rather than ſhe ſhould fall into the hands of the Engliſh.

§ XXXIII. In the courſe of this year Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth made another effort in the Weſt-Indies. They had in January received a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the Governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them in their Voyage. Their deſign was to diſembark the troops at Porto-Bello, and march acroſs the iſthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama, They ſailed from Jamaica on the ninth day of March, and on the twenty-eigth arrived at Porto-Bello. There they held a council of war, in which it was reſolved, that as the troops were ſickly, the rainy ſeaſon begun, and ſeveral tranſports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In purſuance of this determination the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous ſpectacle of folly and irreſolution*. In Auguſt, a ſhip of war was ſent from thence, with about three hundred ſoldiers, to the ſmall iſland Rattan, in the bay of Honduras, of which they took poſſeſſion. In September, Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with ſuch troops as remained alive: theſe did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been ſent abroad in that inglo-

* In May, two Engliſh frigates, commanded by Captain Smith and Captain Stuart, fell in with three Spaniſh ſhips of war, near the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's. They forthwith engaged, and the action continued till night, by the favour of which the enemy retired to Porto Rico in a ſhattered condition.

In the month of September the Tilbury ſhip of war, of ſixty guns, was accidentally ſet on fire, and deſtroyed, off the iſland of Hiſpaniola, on which occaſion one hundred and twenty-ſeven men periſhed; the reſt were ſaved by Captain Hoare, of the Defiance, who happened to be on the ſame cruize.

rious ſervice. The inferior officers fell ignobly by ſickneſs and deſpair, without an opportunity of ſignalizing their courage, and the commanders lived to feel the ſcorn and reproach of their country. In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Auguſtine, commanded by Don Marinel de Monteano, Governor of that fortreſs. It conſiſted of ſix-and-thirty ſhips, from which four thouſand men were landed at St. Simon's; and began their march for Frederica. General Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took ſuch wiſe precautions for oppoſing their progreſs, and haraſſed them in their march with ſuch activity and reſolution, that after two of their detachments had been defeated, they retired to their ſhips, and totally abandoned the enterprize.

§ XXXIV. In England the merchants ſtill complained that their commerce was not properly protected, and the people clamoured againſt the conduct of the war. They ſaid, their burthens were increaſed to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the enormous expence of inactive fleets and pacifick armies. Lord C. had by this time inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of his Sovereign, and engroſſed the whole direction of publick affairs. The war with Spain was now become a ſecondary conſideration, and neglected accordingly; while the chief attention of the new miniſter was turned upon the affairs of the continent. The diſpute with Spain concerned Britain only. The intereſts of Hanover were connected with the troubles of the Empire. By purſuing this object he ſoothed the wiſhes of his Maſter, and opened a more ample field for his own ambition. He had ſtudied the policy of the Continent with peculiar eagerneſs. This was the favourite ſubject of his reflection, upon which he thought and ſpoke with a degree of enthuſiaſm. The intolerable taxes, the poverty, the ruined commerce of his country, the iniquity

BOOK II. 1742. iniquity of ſtanding armies, votes of credit, and foreign connections, upon which he had ſo often expatiated, were now forgotten, or overlooked. He ſaw nothing but glory, conqueſt, or acquired dominion. He ſet the power of France at defiance; and as if Great-Britain had felt no diſtreſs, but teemed with treaſure which ſhe could not otherwiſe employ, he poured forth her millions with a raſh and deſperate hand, in purchaſing beggarly allies, and maintaining mercenary armies. The Earl of Stair had arrived in England towards the end of Auguſt, and conferred with his Majeſty. A privy-council was ſummoned; and in a few days that nobleman returned to Holland. Lord Carteret was ſent with a commiſſion to the Hague in September; and when he returned, the baggage of the King and the Duke of Cumberland, which had been ſhipped for Flanders, was ordered to be brought on ſhore. The Parliament met on the ſixteenth day of November, when his Majeſty told them, that he had augmented the Britiſh forces in the Low Countries with ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians and the Heſſian auxiliaries, in order to form ſuch a force, in conjunction with the Auſtrian troops, as might be of ſervice to the common cauſe at all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary, as well as the reſolute conduct of the King of Sardinia, and that Prince's ſtrict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requiſition made by Sweden, of his good offices for procuring a peace between that nation and Ruſſia; the defenſive alliances which he had concluded with the Czarina, and with the King of Pruſſia; as events which could not have been expected, if Great-Britain had not manifeſted a ſeaſonable ſpirit and vigour, in defence and aſſiſtance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He ſaid, the honour and intereſt of his crown and kingdoms, the ſucceſs of the

the war with Spain, the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their resolutions. The Marquis of Tweedale moved for an address of thanks, which was opposed by the Earl of Chesterfield, for the reasons so often urged on the same occasion; but supported by Lord C. on his new-adopted maxims, with those specious arguments which he could at all times produce, delivered with amazing serenity and assurance. The motion was agreed to, and the address presented to his Majesty. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his Majesty and the King of Prussia was signed at Westminster. In the House of Commons Mr. Lyttelton made a motion for reviving the place-bill; but it was opposed by a great number of members who had formerly been strenuous advocates for this measure, and rejected upon a division. This was also the fate of a motion made to renew the enquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford. As many strong presumptions of guilt had appeared against him in the reports of the secret committee, the nation had reason to expect that this proposal would have been embraced by a great majority: but several members, who in the preceding session had been loud in their demands of justice, now shamefully contributed their talents and interest in stifling the enquiry.

CHAP. VII. 1742.

§ XXV. When the house of Lords took into consideration the several estimates of the expence occasioned by the forces in the pay of Great-Britain, Earl Stanhope, at the close of an elegant speech, moved for an address, to beseech and advise his Majesty, that in compassion to his people, loaded already with such numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing debts, and greater annual expences than the nation at any time before had ever sustained, he would exonerate his subjects of the charge and burthen of those mercenaries who were

BOOK II. 1742. taken into the ſervice laſt year, without the advice or conſent of Parliament. The motion was ſupported by the Earl of Sandwich, who took occaſion to ſpeak with great contempt of Hanover, and, in mentioning the Royal Family, ſeemed to forget that decorum which the ſubject required. He had, indeed, reaſon to talk with aſperity on the contract by which the Hanoverians had been taken into the pay of Great-Britain. Levy-money was charged to the account, though they were engaged for one year only, and though not a ſingle regiment had been raiſed on this occaſion: they had been levied for the ſecurity of the electorate; and would have been maintained if England had never engaged in the affairs of the continent. The Duke of Bedford enlarged upon the ſame ſubject. He ſaid it had been ſuſpected, nor was the ſuſpicion without foundation, that the meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry had long been regulated by the intereſt of his Majeſty's electoral territories: that theſe had been long conſidered as a gulf into which the treaſures of Great-Britain had been thrown: that the ſtate of Hanover had been changed, without any viſible cauſe, ſince the acceſſion of its Princes to the throne of England: affluence had begun to wanton in their towns, and gold to glitter in their cottages, without the diſcovery of mines, or the increaſe of their commerce; and new dominions had been purchaſed, of which the value was never paid from the revenues of Hanover. The motion was hunted down by the new Miniſter, the patriot Lord Bathurſt, and the Earl of Bath, which laſt nobleman declared, that he conſidered it as an act of cowardice and meanneſs, to fall paſſively down the ſtream of popularity, to ſuffer his reaſon and integrity to be overborne by the noiſe of vulgar clamours, which had been raiſed againſt the meaſures of government by the low arts of exaggeration, fallacious reaſonings, and partial repreſentations. This is the very language which Sir Robert

Walpole had often uſed againſt Mr. Pulteney and his confederates in the Houſe of Commons. The aſſociates of the new Secretary pleaded the cauſe of Hanover, and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of a land-war againſt France, with all the vehemence of declamation. Their ſuggeſtions were anſwered; their conduct was ſeverely ſtigmatized by the Earl of Cheſterfield, who obſerved, that the aſſembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States-General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by intereſt, to ſupport the Queen of Hungary, was a raſh and ridiculous meaſure: the taking ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians into Britiſh pay, without conſulting the Parliament, ſeemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times: that theſe troops could not be employed againſt the Emperor, whom they had already recognized: that the arms and wealth of Britain alone were altogether inſufficient to raiſe the Houſe of Auſtria to its former ſtrength, dominion, and influence: that the aſſembling an army in Flanders would engage the nation as principals in an expenſive and ruinous war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withſtand in that manner: that while Great-Britain exhauſted herſelf almoſt to ruin, in purſuance of ſchemes founded on engagements to the Queen of Hungary, the Electorate of Hanover, though under the ſame engagements, and governed by the ſame Prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her aſſiſtance, but was paid by Great-Britain for all the forces it had ſent into the field, at a very exorbitant price: that nothing could be more abſurd and iniquitous than to hire theſe mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home, and the nation groaned under ſuch intolerable burthens. "It may "be proper (added he) to repeat what may be for-"gotten in the multitude of other objects, that this

"nation, after having exalted the Elector of Hanover from a ſtate of obſcurity, to the crown, is "condemned to hire the troops of that electorate "to fight their own cauſe; to hire them at a rate "which was never demanded before; and to pay "levy-money for them, though it is known to all "Europe that they were not raiſed for this occa- "ſion." All the partiſans of the old miniſtry joined in the oppoſition to Earl Stanhope's motion, which was rejected by the majority. Then the Earl of Scarborough moved for an addreſs, to approve of the meaſures which had been taken on the continent; and this was likewiſe carried by dint of numbers. It was not, however, a very eligible victory: what they gained in Parliament they loſt with the people. The new miniſters became more odious than their predeceſſors; and that people began to think publick virtue was an empty name.

§ XXXVI. But the moſt ſevere oppoſition they underwent was in their endeavours to ſupport a bill which they had concerted, and which had paſſed through the Houſe of Commons with great precipitation: it repealed certain duties on ſpirituous liquors, and licences for retailing theſe liquors; and impoſed others at an eaſy rate. When thoſe ſevere duties, amounting almoſt to a prohibition, were impoſed, the populace of London were ſunk into the moſt brutal degeneracy, by drinking to exceſs the pernicious ſpirit called Gin, which was ſold ſo cheap that the loweſt claſs of the people could afford to indulge themſelves in one continued ſtate of intoxication, to the deſtruction of all morals, induſtry, and order. Such a ſhameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poiſonous compound ſet up painted boards in publick, inviting people to be drunk for the ſmall expence of one penny; aſſuring them they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have ſtraw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places ſtrewed with ſtraw,

CHAP. VII. 1742.

ſtraw, to which they conveyed thoſe wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In theſe diſmal caverns they lay until they recovered ſome uſe of their faculties, and then they had recourſe to the ſame miſchievous potion; thus conſuming their health, and ruining their families, in hideous receptacles of the moſt filthy vice, reſounding with riot, execration, and blaſphemy. Such beaſtly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all policy and civil regulations, and would have reflected diſgrace upon the moſt barbarous community. In order to reſtrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the Legiſlature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace ſoon broke through all reſtraint. Though no licence was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be ſold in all corners of the ſtreets: informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the juſtices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new miniſters foreſaw that a great revenue would accrue to the Crown from a repeal of this act; and this meaſure they thought they might the more decently take, as the law had proved ineffectual: for it appeared that the conſumption of gin had conſiderably increaſed every year ſince thoſe heavy duties were impoſed. They, therefore, pretended, that ſhould the price of the liquor be moderately raiſed, and licences granted at twenty ſhillings each to the retailers, the loweſt claſs of people would be debarred the uſe of it to exceſs: their morals would of conſequence be mended; and a conſiderable ſum of money might be raiſed for the ſupport of the war, by mortgaging the revenue ariſing from the duty and the licences. Upon theſe maxims the new bill was founded, and paſſed through the Lower Houſe without oppoſition: but among the Peers it produced the moſt obſtinate diſpute which had happened ſince the beginning of this Parliament. The firſt aſſault it ſuſtained was from Lord

[library stamp]

BOOK II. 1742.

Lord Hervey, who had been diveſted of his poſt of Privy-ſeal, which was beſtowed on Lord Gower; and theſe two noblemen exchanged principles from that inſtant. The firſt was hardened into a ſturdy patriot; the other ſuppled into an obſequious courtier. Lord Hervey on this occaſion made a florid harangue upon the pernicious effects of that deſtructive ſpirit they were about to let looſe upon their fellow-creatures. Several prelates expatiated on the ſame topicks: but the Earl of Cheſterfield attacked the bill with the united powers of reaſon, wit, and ridicule. Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurſt, and the Earl of Bath, were numbered among its advocates; and ſhrewd arguments were advanced on both ſides of the queſtion. After very long, warm, and repeated debates, the bill paſſed without amendments, though the whole bench of Biſhops voted againſt it; and we cannot help owning, that it has not been attended with thoſe diſmal conſequences which the Lords in the oppoſition foretold. When the queſtion was put for committing this bill, and the Earl of Cheſterfield ſaw the Biſhops join in his diviſion, "I am in doubt (ſaid he) whether I have not got "on the other ſide of the queſtion; for I have not "had the honour to divide with ſo many lawn "ſleeves for ſeveral years."

§ XXXVII. By the report of the ſecret committee it appeared that the then miniſter had commenced proſecutions againſt the mayors of boroughs who oppoſed his influence in the elections of members of Parliament. Theſe proſecutions were founded on ambiguities in charters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magiſtrates. An appeal on ſuch a proceſs was brought into the Houſe of Lords; and this evil falling under conſideration, a bill was prepared for ſecuring the independency of corporations: but as it tended to diminiſh the influence of the miniſtry, they argued againſt it with their uſual eagerneſs and ſucceſs; and it was rejected on a diviſion.

The

The mutiny bill and several others passed through both Houses. The Commons granted supplies to the amount of six millions, raised by the land-tax, the malt-tax, duties on spirituous liquors, and licences, and a loan from the sinking fund. In two years the national debt had suffered an increase of two millions four hundred thousand pounds. On the twenty-first day of April the session was closed in the usual manner. The King in his speech to both Houses, told them that, at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrians, to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance: that he continued one squadron of ships in the Mediterranean, and another in the West-Indies. He thanked the Commons for the ample supplies they had granted; and declared it was the fixed purpose of his heart to promote the true interest and happiness of his kingdoms. Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament he embarked for Germany, accompanied by the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Carteret, and other persons of distinction.

CHAP. VII. 1742. An. 1743.

§ XXXVIII. At this period the Queen of Hungary seemed to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia and part of the Upper-Palatinate; and their forces under Mareschal Broglio were posted on the Danube. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the Austrian army, entered Bavaria; and in April obtained a victory over a body of Bavarians at Braunau: at the same time, three bodies of Croatians penetrating through the passes of the Tyroleze, ravaged the whole country to the very gates of Munich. The Emperor pressed the French General to hazard a battle; but he refused to run the risque, though he had received a strong reinforcement from France. His Imperial Majesty, thinking himself unsafe in Munich, retired to Augsburgh: Mareschal Seckendorf retreated with the Bavarian troops to Ingoldstadt, where he was after-

BOOK II. 1743. wards joined by Mareschal Broglio, whose troops had in this retreat been pursued and terribly harassed by the Austrian cavalry and hussars. Prince Charles had opened a free communication with Munich, which now for the third time fell into the hands of the Queen of Hungary. Her arms likewise reduced Friedberg and Landsperg, while Prince Charles continued to pursue the French to Donawert, where they were joined by twelve thousand men from the Rhine. Broglio still avoided an engagement, and retreated before the enemy to Hailbron. The Emperor being thus abandoned by his allies, and stripped of all his dominions, repaired to Franckfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. He now made advances towards an accommodation with the Queen of Hungary. His General, Seckendorf, had an interview with Count Khevenhuller at the convent of Lowersconfield, where a convention was signed. This treaty imported, That the Emperor should remain neuter during the continuance of the present war; and, That his troops should be quartered in Franconia: That the Queen of Hungary should keep possession of Bavaria till the peace: That Braunau and Scarding should be delivered up to the Austrians: That the French garrison of Ingoldstadt should be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but that the Austrian Generals should be put in possession of all the artillery, magazines, and warlike stores belonging to the French, which should be found in the place. The Governors of Egra and Ingoldstadt refusing to acquiesce in the capitulation, the Austrians had recourse to the operations of war; and both places were reduced. In Ingoldstadt they found all the Emperor's domestick treasure, jewels, plate, pictures, cabinets, and curiosities, with the archives of the House of Bavaria, the most valuable effects belonging to the nobility of that electorate, a prodigious

train

CHAP. VII.

1743.

train of artillery, and a vaſt quantity of proviſions, arms and ammunition.

§ XXXIX. The French King, baffled in all the efforts he had hitherto made for the ſupport of the Emperor, ordered his miniſter at Franckfort to deliver a declaration to the diet, profeſſing himſelf extremely well pleaſed to hear they intended to interpoſe their mediation for terminating the war. He ſaid, he was no leſs ſatisfied with the treaty of neutrality which the Emperor had concluded with the Queen of Hungary; an event of which he was no ſooner informed, than he had ordered his troops to return to the frontiers of his dominions, that the Germanick body might be convinced of his equity and moderation. To this declaration the Queen of Hungary anſwered in a reſcript, that the deſign of France was to embarraſs her affairs, and deprive her of the aſſiſtance of her allies: that the Elector of Bavaria could not be conſidered as a neutral party in his own cauſe: that the mediation of the empire could only produce a peace either with or without the concurrence of France: that in the former caſe no ſolid peace could be expected; in the latter, it was eaſy to foreſee, that France would pay no regard to a peace in which ſhe ſhould have no concern. She affirmed, that the aim of the French King was ſolely to gain time to repair his loſſes, that he might afterwards revive the troubles of the empire. The Elector of Mentz, who had favoured the Emperor, was now dead, and his ſucceſſor inclined to the Auſtrian intereſt. He allowed this reſcript to be entered in the journal of the Diet, together with the proteſts which had been made when the vote of Bohemia was ſuppreſſed in the late election. The Emperor complained in a circular letter of this tranſaction, as a ſtroke levelled at his Imperial dignity; and it gave riſe to a warm diſpute among the members of the Germanick body. Several Princes reſented the haughty conduct, and began

BOOK II. 1743.

to be alarmed at the ſucceſs of the Houſe of Auſtria; while others pitied the deplorable ſituation of the Emperor. The Kings of Great-Britain and Pruſſia, as Electors of Hanover and Brandenburgh, eſpouſed oppoſite ſides in this conteſt. His Pruſſian Majeſty proteſted againſt the inveſtiture of the duchy of Saxe Lawenburgh, claimed by the King of Great-Britain: he had an interview with General Seckendorf at Anſpach; and was ſaid to have privately viſited the Emperor at Franckfort.

§ XL. The troops which the King of Great-Britain had aſſembled in the Netherlands, began their march for the Rhine in the latter end of February; and in May they encamped near Hoech on the river Mayne, under the command of the Earl of Stair. This nobleman ſent Major-General Bland to Franckfort, with a compliment to the Emperor, aſſuring him, in the name of his Britannick Majeſty, that the reſpect owing to his dignity ſhould not be violated, nor the place of his reſidence diſturbed. Notwithſtanding this aſſurance, the Emperor retired to Munich, though he was afterwards compelled to return, by the ſucceſs of the Auſtrians in Bavaria. The French King, in order to prevent the junction of the Britiſh forces with Prince Charles of Lorraine, ordered the Mareſchal de Noailles to aſſemble ſixty thouſand men upon the Mayne; while Coigny was ſent into Alſace with a numerous army, to defend that province, and oppoſe Prince Charles, ſhould he attempt to paſs the Rhine. The Mareſchal de Noailles, having ſecured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, paſſed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and poſted himſelf on the eaſt ſide of that river, above Franckfort. The Earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Mayne and the foreſt of D'Armſtadt: from this ſituation he made a motion to Aſchaffenburgh, with a view to ſecure the navigation of the Upper Mayne; but he was anticipated

cipated by the enemy, who lay on the other side of the river, and had taken possession of the posts above, so as to intercept all supplies. They were posted on the other side of the river, opposite to the Allies, whose camp they overlooked; and they found means by their parties and other precautions, to cut off the communication by water between Franckfort and the Confederates. The Duke of Cumberland had already come to make his first campaign, and his Majesty arrived in the camp on the ninth day of June. He found his army, amounting to above forty thousand men, in danger of starving; he received intelligence, that a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau; and he resolved to march thither, both with a view to effect the junction, and to procure provision for his forces. With this view he decamped on the twenty-sixth day of June. He had no sooner quitted Aschaffenburgh, than it was seized by the French General: he had not marched above three leagues, when he perceived the enemy, to the number of thirty thousand, had passed the river farther down, at Selingenstadt, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to dispute his passage. Thus he found himself cooped up in a very dangerous situation. The enemy had possessed themselves of Aschaffenburgh behind, so as to prevent his retreat: his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the opposite side of which the French had erected batteries that annoyed the Allies on their march: in the front a considerable part of the French army was drawn up, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on their left, and a morass in the center. Thus environed, the Confederates must either have fought at a very great disadvantage, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war, had not the Duke de Gramont, who

commanded

commanded the enemy, been instigated by the spirit of madness to forego these advantages. He passed the defile, and advancing towards the Allies, a battle ensued. The French horse charged with great impetuosity, and some regiments of British cavalry were put in disorder: but the infantry of the Allies behaved with such intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their Sovereign, as soon determined the fate of the day: the French were obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with great precipitation, having lost above five thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. Had they been properly pursued before they recollected themselves from their first confusion, in all probability they would have sustained a total overthrow. The Earl of Stair proposed that a body of cavalry should be detached on this service; but his advice was over-ruled. The loss of the Allies in this action amounted to two thousand men. The Generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the Duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg: the Earl of Albemarle, General Huske, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded. The King exposed his person to a severe fire of cannon as well as musquetry: he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouragad the troops to fight for the honour of England. Immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the reinforcement. The Earl of Stair sent a trumpet to Mareschal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle: and these the French General treated with great care and tenderness. Such generosity softens the rigours of war, and does honour to humanity.

§ XLI. The two armies continued on different sides of the river till the twelfth day of July, when the French General receiving intelligence that Prince

Prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, he ſuddenly retired, and repaſſed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim. The King of Great-Britain was viſited by Prince Charles and Count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were regulated. On the twenty-ſeventh day of Auguſt, the allied army paſſed the Rhine at Mentz, and the King fixed his head-quarters in the epiſcopal palace at Worms. Here the forces lay encamped till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by twenty thouſand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Mareſchal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alſace, the Allies took poſſeſſion of Germerſheim, and demoliſhed the entrenchments which the enemy had raiſed on the Queich; then they returned to Mentz, and in October were diſtributed into winter-quarters, after an inactive campaign that redounded very little to the honour of thoſe by whom the motions of the army were conducted. In September a treaty had been concluded at Worms between his Britannick Majeſty, the King of Sardinia, and the Queen of Hungary. She engaged to maintain thirty thouſand men in Italy: the King of Sardinia obliged himſelf to employ forty thouſand infantry and five thouſand horſe, in conſideration of his commanding the combined army, and receiving an annual ſubſidy of two hundred thouſand pounds from Great-Britain. As a further gratification, the Queen yielded to him the city of Placentia, with ſeveral diſtricts in the duchy of Pavi, and in the Novareſe: and all her right and pretenſions to Final, at preſent poſſeſſed by the republick of Genoa, which they hoped would give it up, on being repaid the purchaſe-money, amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds. This ſum the King of England promiſed to diſburſe; and moreover to maintain a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, the Commander of which ſhould act in concert

SARABOJI SERFOJI'S SA…

BOOK II. 1743. concert with his Sardinian Majesty. Finally, the contracting powers agreed, that Final should be constituted a free-port, like that of Leghorn. Nothing could be more unjust than this treaty, by which the Genoese were negociated out of their property. They had purchased the marquisate of Final of the late Emperor for a valuable consideration, and the purchase had been guaranteed by Great-Britain. It could not, therefore, be expected that they would part with this acquisition to a Prince whose power they thought already too formidable; especially, on condition of its being made a free-port, to the prejudice of their own commerce. They presented remonstrances against this article, by their ministers at the Courts of London, Vienna, and Turin; and, as very little regard was paid to their representations, they threw themselves into the arms of France and Spain for protection.

§ XLII. After the battle of Dettingen, Colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars belonging to the Queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorraine, part of which they ravaged without mercy. In September Prince Charles, with the Austrian army, entered the Brisgaw, and attempted to pass the Rhine; but Mareschal Coigny had taken such precautions for guarding it on the other side, that he was obliged to abandon his design, and marching back into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country, and in Bavaria. By this time the Earl of Stair had solicited and obtained leave to resign his command. He had for some time thought himself neglected; and was unwilling that his reputation should suffer on account of measures in which he had no concern. In October the King of Great-Britain, returned to Hanover, and the army separated. The troops in British pay marched back to the Netherlands, and the rest took their route to their respective countries. The States-General still wavered between their own immediate

immediate intereſt and their deſire to ſupport the Houſe of Auſtria. At length, however, they ſupplied her with a ſubſidy, and ordered twenty thouſand men to march to her aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the Marquis de Fenelon, the French Ambaſſador at the Hague, and the declaration of the King of Pruſſia, who diſapproved of this meaſure, and refuſed them a paſſage through his territories to the Rhine.

§ XLIII. Sweden was filled with diſcontents, and divided into factions. The Generals Bodenbrock and Lewenhaupt were beheaded, having been ſacrificed as ſcape-goats for the miniſtry. Some unſucceſsful efforts by ſea and land were made againſt the Ruſſians. At laſt the peace of Abo was concluded; and the Duke of Holſtein-Utin, uncle to the ſucceſſor of the Ruſſian throne, was choſen as next heir to the crown of Sweden. A party had been formed in favour of the Prince of Denmark; and the order of the peaſants actually elected him as ſucceſſor. The debates in the college of nobles roſe to a very dangerous degree of animoſity, and were appeaſed by an harangue in Swediſh verſe, which one of the ſenators pronounced. The peaſants yielded the point, and the ſucceſſion was ſettled on the Duke of Holſtein. Denmark, inſtigated by French councils, began to make preparations of war againſt Sweden: but a body of Ruſſian auxiliaries arriving in that kingdom, under the command of General Keith, and the Czarina declaring ſhe would aſſiſt the Swedes with her whole force, the King of Denmark thought proper to diſarm. It had been an old maxim of French policy to embroil the courts of the North, that they might be too much employed at home to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany, while France was at war with the Houſe of Auſtria. The good underſtanding between the Czarina and the Queen of Hungary was at this period deſtroyed, in conſequence of a conſpiracy which had

BOOK II. 1743.

had been formed by ſome perſons of diſtinction at the Court of Peterſburgh, for removing the Empreſs Elizabeth, and recalling the Princeſs Anne to the adminiſtration. This deſign being diſcovered, the principal conſpirators were corporally puniſhed, and ſent in exile to Siberia. The Marquis de Botta, the Auſtrian Miniſter, who had reſided at the Court of the Czarina, was ſuſpected of having been concerned in the plot; though the grounds of this ſuſpicion did not appear until after he was recalled, and ſent as Ambaſſador to the Court of Berlin. The Empreſs demanded ſatisfaction of the Queen of Hungary, who appointed commiſſioners to enquire into his conduct, and he was acquitted: but the Czarina was not at all ſatisfied of his innocence. In February a defenſive treaty of alliance was concluded between this Princeſs and the King of Great-Britain.

§ XLIV. By this time France was deprived of her ableſt miniſter, in the death of the Cardinal de Fleury, who had for many years managed the affairs of that kingdom. He is ſaid to have poſſeſſed a lively genius, and an inſinuating addreſs; to have been regular in his deportment, and moderate in his diſpoſition; but at the ſame time he has been branded as deceitful, diſſembling and vindictive. His ſcheme of politicks was altogether pacifick: he endeavoured to accompliſh his purpoſes by raiſing and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts: he did not ſeem to pay much regard to the military glory of France; and he too much neglected the naval power of that kingdom. Since Broglio was driven out of Germany, the French Court affected uncommon moderation. They pretended that their troops had only acted as auxiliaries while they remained in the Empire; being, however, apprehenſive of an irruption into their own dominions, they declared, that thoſe troops were no longer to be conſidered in that light, but as ſubjects acting in the ſervice of France. The campaign in Italy

Italy proved unfavourable to the Spaniards. In the beginning of February Count Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the Bolognese, amounting to four-and-twenty thousand men, passed the Penaro, and advanced to Campo-Santo, where he encountered the Imperial and Piedmontese forces, commanded by the Counts Traun and Aspremont. The strength of the two armies was nearly equal. The action was obstinate and bloody, though indecisive. The Spaniards lost about four thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. The damage sustained by the Confederates was not quite so great. Some cannon and colours were taken on both sides; and each claimed the victory. Count Gages repassed the Penaro; retreated suddenly from Bologna; and marched to Rimini in the Ecclesiastical State, where he fortified his camp in an advantageous situation, after having suffered severely by desertion. Count Traun remained inactive in the Modenese till September, when he resigned his command to Prince Lobkowitz. This General entered the Bolognese in October, and then advanced towards Count Gages, who, with his forces, now reduced to seven thousand, retreated to Fano; but afterwards took possession of Pesaro, and fortified all the passes of the river Foglia. The season was far advanced before the Spanish troops, commanded by Don Philip, in Savoy, entered upon action. In all probability, the Courts of Versailles and Madrid carried on some private negociation with the King of Sardinia. This expedient failing, Don Philip decamped from Chamberri in the latter end of August, and defiling through Dauphiné towards Briancon, was joined by the Prince of Conti, at the head of twenty thousand French auxiliaries. Thus reinforced, he attacked the Piedmontese lines at Chateau-Dauphiné; but was repulsed in several attempts, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The French established their winter-quarters in Dauphiné and Pro-

BOOK II. 1743. vence; and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

§ XLV. The British fleet, commanded by Admiral Matthews, over-awed all the States that bordered on the Mediterranean. This officer, about the end of June, understanding that fourteen xebecks, laden with artillery and ammunition for the Spanish army, had arrived at Genoa, sailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the republick that they would either oblige these vessels with the stores to quit their harbour, or sequester their lading until a general peace should be established. After some dispute, it was agreed that the cannon and stores should be deposited in the castle of Bonifacio, situated on a rock at the south end of Corsica; and that the xebecks should have leave to retire without molestation. The Corsicans had some years before revolted, and shaken off the dominion of the Genoese, under which their island had remained for many centuries. They found themselves oppressed, and resolved to assert their freedom. They conferred the sovereign authority on a German adventurer, who was solemnly proclaimed by the name of King Theodore. He had supplied them with some arms and ammunition, which he had brought from Tunis; and amused them with promises of being assisted by foreign Powers in retrieving their independency: but as these promises were not performed, they treated him so roughly, that he had thought proper to quit the island, and they submitted again to their old masters. The troubles of Corsica were now revived. Theodore revisited his kingdom, and was recognized by the principal chiefs of the island. He published a manifesto: he granted a general pardon to all his subjects who should return to their obedience: he pretended to be countenanced and supported by the King of Great-Britain and the Queen of Hungary. He was certainly thought a proper instrument to perplex and harass the Genoese, and supplied at this

this juncture with a ſum of money to purchaſe arms for the Corſicans: but a change ſoon happened in the Britiſh miniſtry, and then he was ſuffered to relapſe into his original obſcurity. Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance againſt the maritime towns of Spain, continued to aſſert the Britiſh empire at ſea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. The Spaniſh army under Don Philip was no ſooner in motion, than the Engliſh Admiral ordered ſome troops and cannon to be diſembarked for the ſecurity of Villa-Franca. Some ſtores having been landed at Civita-Vecchia, for the uſe of the Spaniſh forces under Count Gages, Matthews interpreted this tranſaction into a violation of the neutrality which the Pope had profeſſed; and ſent thither a ſquadron to bombard the place. The city of Rome was filled with conſternation; and the Pope had recourſe to the good offices of his Sardinian Majeſty, in conſequence of which the Engliſh ſquadron was ordered to withdraw. The Captains of ſingle cruiſing ſhips, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain; cannonaded and burned ſome towns on the ſea-ſide; and kept the whole coaſt in continual alarm*.

CHAP. VII.

1743.

* In May a dreadful plague broke out at Meſſina in Sicily. It was imported in cotton and other commodities brought from the Morea; and ſwept off ſuch a multitude of people, that the city was almoſt depopulated: all the galley ſlaves, who were employed in burying the dead, periſhed by the contagion; and this was the fate of many prieſts and monks who adminiſtered to thoſe who were infected. The dead bodies lay in heaps in the ſtreets, corrupting the air, and adding freſh fuel to the rage of the peſtilence. Numbers died miſerably, for want of proper attendance and neceſſaries; and all was horror and deſolation. At the beginning of winter it ceaſed, after having deſtroyed near fifty thouſand inhabitants of Meſſina, and of the garriſons in the citadel and caſtle. It was prevented from ſpreading in Sicily by a ſtrong barricado drawn from Melazzo to Taormina; but it was conveyed to Reggio in Calabria, by the avarice of a broker of that place, who bought ſome goods at Meſſina. The King of Naples immediately ordered lines to be formed, together with a chain of troops which cut off all communication between that place and the reſt of the continent.

BOOK II. 1743.

§ XLVI. In the Weſt-Indies ſome unſucceſsful efforts were made by an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by Commodore Knowles. He attacked La Gueira on the coaſt of Carraccas, in the month of February; but met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to deſiſt, and make the beſt of his way for the Dutch iſland Curacoa, where he repaired the damage he had ſuſtained. His ſhips being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto Cavallo in April, which like the former miſcarried. Twelve hundred marines being landed in the neighbourhood of the place, were ſeized with ſuch a panick, that it was found neceſſary to reimbark them without delay. Then the Commodore abandoned the enterprize, and ſailed back to his ſtation at the Leeward Iſlands, without having added much to his reputation, either as to conduct or reſolution. On the continent of America the operations of the war were very inconſiderable. General Oglethorpe having received intelligence, that the Spaniards prepared for another invaſion from St. Auguſtine, aſſembled a body of Indians, as a reinforcement to part of his own regiment, with the Highlanders and Rangers, and in the ſpring began his march, in order to anticipate the enemy. He encamped for ſome time in the neighbourhood of St. Auguſtine, by way of a defiance: but they did not think proper to hazard an engagement; and as he was in no condition to undertake a ſiege, he returned to Georgia. In October the Princeſs Louiſa, youngeſt daughter of his Britannick Majeſty, was married by proxy, at Hanover, to the Prince-Royal of Denmark, who met her at Altena, and conducted her to Copenhagen.

CHAP.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... MAHAL.

CHAP. VIII.

§ I. *Debate in Parliament against the Hanoverian troops.* § II. *Supplies granted.* § III. *Projected invasion of Great-Britain* § IV. *A French squadron sails up the English channel.* § V. *The kingdom is put in a posture of defence.* § VI. *The design of the French defeated. War between France and England.* § VII. *Bill against those who should correspond with the sons of the Pretender.* § VIII. *Naval engagement off Toulon.* § IX. *Advances towards peace made by the Emperor.* § X. *Treaty of Franckfort.* § XI. *Progress of the French King in the Netherlands.* § XII. *Prince Charles of Lorraine passes the Rhine.* § XIII. *The King of Prussia makes an irruption into Bohemia.* § XIV. *Campaign in Bavaria and Flanders.* § XV. *The King of Naples joins Count Gages in Italy.* § XVI. *Battle of Coni.* § XVII. *Return of Commodore Anson. Sir John Balchen perishes at sea.* § XVIII. *Revolution in the British Ministry. Session of Parliament.* § XIX. *Death of the Emperor Charles VII. Accommodation between the Queen of Hungary and the young Elector of Bavaria.* § XX. *The King of Prussia gains two successive battles at Friedberg and Sohr, over the Austrian and Saxon forces.* § XXI. *Treaty of Dresden. The Grand Duke of Tuscany elected Emperor of Germany.* § XXII. *The Allies are defeated at Fontenoy.* § XXIII. *The King of Sardinia is almost stripped of his dominions.* § XXIV. *The English forces take Cape Breton.* § XXV. *The importance of this conquest.* § XXVI. *Project of an insurrection in Great-Britain.* § XXVII. *The eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George lands in Scotland.* § XXVIII. *Takes possession of Edinburgh.* § XXIX. *Defeats Sir John Cope at Preston-Pans.* § XXX. *Efforts of the friends of government in Scotland.*

§ XXXI. *Precautions taken in England.* § XXXII. *The Prince Pretender reduces Carliſle, and penetrates as far as Derby. Conſternation of the Londoners.* § XXXIII. *The rebels retreat into Scotland.* § XXXIV. *They inveſt the caſtle of Stirling.* § XXXV. *The King's troops under Hawley are worſted at Falkirk.* § XXXVI. *The Duke of Cumberland aſſumes the command of the forces in Scotland.* § XXXVII. *The rebels undertake the ſiege of Fort William.*

BOOK II. 1743.

§ I. THE diſcontents of England were artfully inflamed by anti-miniſterial writers, who not only exaggerated the burthens of the people, and drew frightful pictures of the diſtreſs and miſery which, they ſaid, impended over the nation, but alſo employed the arts of calumny and miſrepreſentation, to excite a jealouſy and national quarrel between the Engliſh and Hanoverians. They affirmed that in the laſt campaign the Britiſh General had been neglected and deſpiſed; while the councils of foreign officers, greatly inferior to him in capacity, quality, and reputation, had been followed, to the prejudice of the common cauſe: that the Britiſh troops ſuſtained daily inſults from their own mercenaries, who were indulged with particular marks of royal favour: that the Sovereign himſelf appeared at Dettingen in a Hanoverian ſcarf; and that his electoral troops were of very little ſervice in that engagement. Though the moſt material of theſe aſſertions were certainly falſe, they made a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of the people, already irritated by the enormous expence of a continental war maintained for the intereſt of Germany. When the Parliament met in the beginning of December, a motion was made in the Houſe of Peers, by the Earl of Sandwich, for an addreſs, beſeeching his Majeſty to diſcontinue the Hanoverian troops in Britiſh pay, in order to remove the popular diſcontent, and ſtop the

the murmurs of the English troops abroad. He was supported by the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Chesterfield, and all the leaders in the opposition, who did not fail to enumerate, and insist upon all the circumstances we have mentioned. They moreover observed, that better troops might be hired at a smaller expence: that it would be a vain and endless task to exhaust the national treasure, in enriching a hungry and barren electorate; that the popular dissatisfaction against these mercenaries was so general, and raised to such violence, as nothing but their dismission could appease: that if such hirelings should be thus continued from year to year, they might at last become a burthen entailed upon the nation, and be made subservient, under some ambitious Prince, to purposes destructive of British liberty. These were the suggestions of spleen and animosity: for, granting the necessity of a land war, the Hanoverians were the most natural allies and auxiliaries which Great-Britain could engage and employ. How insolent soever some few individual Generals of that electorate might have been in their private deportment, certain it is, their troops behaved with great sobriety, discipline, and decorum; and in the day of battle did their duty with as much courage and alacrity as any body of men ever displayed on the like occasion. The motion was rejected by the majority; but, when the term for keeping them in the British pay was nearly expired, and the estimates for their being continued the ensuing year were laid before the House, the Earl of Sandwich renewed his motion. The Lord Chancellor, as Speaker of the House, interposing, declared, that by their rules a question once rejected could not be revived during the same session. A debate ensued, and the second motion was over-ruled. The Hanoverian troops were voted in the House of Commons: nevertheless, the same nobleman moved in the Upper House, that the continuing sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British

CHAP. VIII.

1743.

BOOK II. 1743.

tish pay was prejudicial to his Majesty's true interest, useless to the common cause, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. He was seconded by the Duke of Marlborough, who had resigned his commission in disgust; and the proposal gave birth to another warm dispute: but victory declared, as usual, for the ministry.

§ II. In the House of Commons they sustained divers attacks. A motion was made for laying a duty of eight shillings in the pound on all places and pensions. Mr. Grenville moved for an address, to beseech his Majesty, that he would not engage the British nation any further in the war on the continent, without the concurrence of the States-General on certain stipulated proportions of force and expence, as in the late war. These proposals begat vigorous debates, in which the country party were always foiled by dint of superior number. Such was the credit and influence of the Ministry in Parliament, that although the national debt was increased by above six millions since the commencement of the war, the commons indulged them with an enormous sum for the expence of the ensuing year. The grants specified in the votes amounted to six millions and a half: to this sum were added three millions and a half paid to the sinking-fund in perpetual taxes; so that this year's expence rose to ten millions. The funds established for the annual charge were the land and malt taxes: one million paid by the East-India Company for the renewal of their charter, twelve hundred thousand pounds by annuities, one million from the sinking-fund, six-and-thirty thousand pounds from the coinage, and six hundred thousand pounds by a lottery; an expedient which for some time had been annually repeated; and which, in a great measure, contributed to debauch the morals of the publick, by introducing a spirit of gaming, destructive of all industry and virtue.

§ III.

§ III. The diſſenſions of the Britiſh Parliament were ſuddenly ſuſpended by an event that ſeemed to unite both parties in the proſecution of the ſame meaſures. This was the intelligence of an intended invaſion. By the parliamentary diſputes, the loud clamours, and the general diſſatisfaction of the people in Great-Britain, the French Miniſtry were perſuaded that the nation was ripe for a revolt. This belief was corroborated by the aſſertions of their emiſſaries in different parts of Great-Britain and Ireland. Theſe were Papiſts and Jacobites of ſtrong prejudices and warm imaginations, who ſaw things through the medium of paſſion and party, and ſpoke rather from extravagant zeal than from ſober conviction. They gave the Court of Verſailles to underſtand, that if the Chevalier de St. George, or his eldeſt ſon, Charles Edward, ſhould appear at the head of a French army in Great-Britain, a revolution would inſtantly follow in his favour. This intimation was agreeable to Cardinal de Tencin, who, ſince the death of Fleury, had borne a ſhare in the adminiſtration of France. He was of a violent enterpriſing temper. He had been recommended to the purple by the Chevalier de St. George, and was ſeemingly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with the proſpect of giving a King to Great-Britain; of performing ſuch eminent ſervice to his benefactor, and of reſtoring to the throne of their anceſtors a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greateſt Princes of Europe. The Miniſtry of France foreſaw, that even if this aim ſhould miſcarry, a deſcent upon Great-Britain would make a conſiderable diverſion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarraſs his Britannick Majeſty, who was the chief ſupport of the Houſe of Auſtria, and all its allies. Actuated by theſe motives, he concerted meaſures with the Chevalier de St. George at Rome, who being too much advanced in years to engage perſonally

BOOK II. 1743. sonally in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions and authority to his son Charles, a youth of promising talents, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising, amiable in his person, grave, and even reserved in his deportment. He approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity; and though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effeminate country, and gentle climate, patient almost beyond belief of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Such was the adventurer now destined to fill the hope which the French ministry had conceived, from the projected invasion of Great-Britain.

§ IV. Count Saxe was appointed by the French King commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thousand men. They began their march to Picardy, and a great number of vessels was assembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogn. It was determined that they should be landed in Kent, under convoy of a strong squadron equipped at Brest, and commanded by Monsieur de Roquefeuille, an officer of experience and capacity. The Chevalier de St. George is said to have required the personal service of the Duke of Ormond, who excused himself on account of his advanced age: be that as it will, Prince Charles departed from Rome about the end of December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended by one servant only, and furnished with passports by Cardinal Aquaviva. He travelled through Tuscany to Genoa, from whence he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes, and prosecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French King: then he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The British Ministry being apprised of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Boulogn. Mr. Thompson, the English resident at Paris, received

orders

orders to make a remonſtrance to the French miniſtry, on the violation of thoſe treaties by which the Pretender to the crown of Great-Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to underſtand, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would not explain himſelf on that ſubject, until the King of England ſhould have given ſatisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of thoſe very treaties which had been ſo often violated by his orders. In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille ſailed from Breſt, directing his courſe up the Engliſh channel with twenty ſhips of war. They were immediately diſcovered by an Engliſh cruiſer, which ran into Plymouth; and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of Admiralty. Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the ſquadron at Spithead, with which he ſailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by ſome ſhips of the line from Chatham, and then he found himſelf at the head of a ſquadron conſiderably ſtronger than that of the enemy.

CHAP. VIII. 1743.

§ V. Several regiments marched to the ſouthern coaſt of England: all Governors and Commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their reſpective poſts: the forts at the mouth of the Thames and Medway were put in a poſture of defence; and directions were iſſued to aſſemble the Kentiſh militia, to defend the coaſt in caſe of an invaſion. On the fifteenth day of February, the King ſent a meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament, intimating the arrival of the Pretender's ſon in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the Engliſh channel. They joined in an addreſs, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the deſign formed in favour of a Popiſh Pretender; and aſſuring his Majeſty, that they would, with

BOOK II. 1743.

with the warmeſt zeal and unanimity, take ſuch meaſures as would enable him to fruſtrate and defeat ſo deſperate and inſolent an attempt. Addreſſes of the ſame kind were preſented by the city of London, both Univerſities, the principal towns of Great-Britain, the Clergy, the Diſſenting Miniſters, the Quakers, and almoſt all the corporations and communities of the kingdom. A requiſition was made of the ſix thouſand auxiliaries, which the States-General were by treaty obliged to furniſh on ſuch occaſions; and theſe were granted with great alacrity and expedition. The Earl of Stair, forgetting his wrongs, took this opportunity of offering his ſervices to government, and was re-inveſted with the chief command of the forces in Great-Britain. His example was followed by ſeveral noblemen of the firſt rank. The Duke of Montague was permitted to raiſe a regiment of horſe; and orders were ſent to bring over ſix thouſand of the Britiſh troops from Flanders, in caſe the invaſion ſhould actually take place. His Majeſty was in another addreſs from Parliament, exhorted to augment his forces by ſea and land: the Habeas Corpus act was ſuſpended for ſix months, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were apprehended on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices: a proclamation was iſſued for putting the laws in execution againſt Papiſts and Nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every precaution was taken which ſeemed neceſſary for the preſervation of the publick tranquillity.

§ VI. Meanwhile the French Court proceeded with their preparations at Boulogn and Dunkirk, under the eye of the young Pretender; and ſeven thouſand men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille ſailed up the channel as far as Dungeneſs, a promontory on the coaſt of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil, with five ſhips, to haſten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French Admiral anchored off Dungeneſs, he perceived,

ceived, on the twenty-fourth day of February, the British fleet, under Sir John Norris, doubling the South-Foreland from the Downs; and though the wind was against him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the French squadron. Roquefeuille, who little expected such a visit, could not be altogether composed, considering the great superiority of his enemies: but the tide failing, the English Admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short of the enemy. In this interval, M. de Roquefeuille called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at sun-set, and make the best of their way to the place from whence they had set sail. This resolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition. But the same storm which, in all probability, saved their fleet from destruction, utterly disconcerted the design of invading England. A great number of their transports was driven ashore and destroyed, and the rest were so damaged that they could not be speedily repaired. The English were now masters at sea, and their coast was so well guarded, that the enterprize could not be prosecuted with any probability of success. The French Generals nominated to serve in this expedition returned to Paris, and the young Pretender resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. In the mean time he remained in Paris, or that neighbourhood, incognito, and almost totally neglected by the Court of France. Finding himself in this disagreeable situation, and being visited by John Murray of Broughton, who magnified the power of his Friends in Great-Britain, he resolved to make some bold effort, even without the assistance of Louis, in whose sincerity he had no faith, and forthwith took proper measures to obtain exact information touching the number, inclinations, and influence of his father's adherents in England

BOOK II. 1743. and Scotland. The French King no longer preserved any measures with the Court of London: the British resident at Paris was given to understand, that a declaration of war must ensue; and this was actually published on the twentieth day of March. The King of Great-Britain was taxed with having dissuaded the Court of Vienna, from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover: with having exercised piracy upon the subjects of France, and with having blocked up the harbour of Toulon. On the thirty-first day of March, a like denunciation of war against France was published at London, amidst the acclamations of the people.

An. 1744. § VII. The Commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill, denouncing the penalties of high-treason, against those who should maintain correspondence with the sons of the Pretender. In the Upper House, Lord Hardwicke, the Chancellor, moved, that a clause should be inserted, extending the crime of treason to the posterity of the offenders, during the lives of the Pretender's sons. The motion, which was supported by the whole strength of the ministry, produced a warm debate, in which the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Chesterfield the Lords Talbot and Hervey argued against it in the most pathetick manner as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common justice, and the precepts of religion; an expedient that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of ministerial power, for which purpose it was undoubtedly calculated. Notwithstanding these suggestions, the clause was carried in the affirmative, and the bill sent back to the Commons, where the amendment was vigorously opposed by Lord Strange, Lord Guernsey, Mr. W. Pitt, and other members, by whom the

original bill had been countenanced*: the majority, however, declared, for the amendment, and the bill obtained the Royal aſſent. The ſeſſion of Parliament was cloſed in May, when the King told them, that the French had made vaſt preparations on the ſide of the Netherlands; and that the States-General had agreed to furniſh the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties.

§ VIII. By this time an action had happened in the Mediterranean, between the Britiſh fleet commanded by Admiral Matthews, and the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain, which had been for ſome time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the ninth day of February they were perceived ſtanding out of the road, to the number of four-and-thirty ſail: the Engliſh Admiral immediately weighed from Hires bay: and on the eleventh, part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spaniſh Admiral, Don Navarro, whoſe ſhip, the Real, was a firſt rate, mounted with above an hundred guns. Rear Admiral Rowley ſingled out M. de Court, who commanded the French ſpuadron; and a very few Captains followed the example of their commanders: but Vice-Admiral Leſtock, with his whole diviſion, remained at a great diſtance aſtern; and ſeveral Captains, who were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in ſuch a manner as reflected diſgrace upon their country. The whole tranſaction was conducted without order or deliberation. The French and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the Britiſh ſquadron was ſuperior to them in ſtrength and number. M. de Court, therefore, made the beſt of his way towards the Straits' mouth, probably with intention to join the Breſt ſquadron: but he had or-

* The oppoſition had ſuſtained a heavy blow in the death of the Duke of Argyle, a nobleman of ſhining qualifications for the ſenate and the field, whoſe character would have been ſtill more illuſtrious, had not ſome parts of his conduct ſubjected him to the ſuſpicion of ſelfiſhneſs and inconſtancy. He was ſucceeded in that title by his brother, Archibald Earl of Ilay.

ders

BOOK II. 1744. ders to protect the Spaniſh fleet; and as they ſailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the Engliſh. Thus circumſtanced he made ſail and lay to by turns; ſo that the Britiſh Admiral could not engage them in proper order; and as they outſailed his ſhips, he began to fear they would eſcape him altogether, ſhould he wait for Vice-Admiral Leſtock, who was ſo far aſtern. Under this apprehenſion he made the ſignal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was ſtill diſplayed; and this inconſiſtency naturally introduced confuſion. The fight was maintained with great vivacity by the few who engaged. The Real being quite diſabled, and lying like a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews ſent a fireſhip to deſtroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. The ſhip ordered to cover this machine did not obey the ſignal; ſo that the Captain of the fireſhip was expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheleſs he continued to advance until he found the veſſel ſinking: and being within a few yards of the Real, he ſet fire to the fuſees. The ſhip was immediately in flames, in the midſt of which he and his Lieutenant, with twelve men periſhed. This was likewiſe the fate of the Spaniſh launch, which had been manned with fifty ſailors, to prevent the fireſhip from running on board the Real. One ſhip of the line belonging to a Spaniſh ſquadron ſtruck to Captain Hawke, who ſent a Lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of her: ſhe was afterwards retaken by the French ſquadron; but was found ſo diſabled, that they left her deſerted, and ſhe was next day burned by order of Admiral Matthews. At night the action ceaſed; and the Admiral found his own ſhip ſo much damaged, that he moved his flag into another. Captain Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and intrepidity: but the loſs of men was very inconſiderable. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward,

and the Admiral gave chaſe till night, when he brought to, that he might be joined by the ſhips aſtern. They were perceived again on the thirteenth at a conſiderable diſtance, and purſued till the evening. In the morning of the fourteenth, twenty ſail of them were ſeen diſtinctly, and Leſtock with his diviſion had gained ground of them conſiderably by noon; but Admiral Matthews diſplayed the ſignal for leaving off chaſe, and bore away for Port-Mahon, to repair the damage he had ſuſtained. Meanwhile the combined ſquadrons continued their courſe towards the coaſt of Spain. M. de Court, with his diviſion, anchored in the road of Alicant; and Don Navarro ſailed into the harbour of Carthagena. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accuſed Leſtock of having miſbehaved on the day of action; ſuſpended him from his office, and ſent him priſoner to England, where, in his turn, he accuſed his accuſer. Long before the engagement, theſe two officers had expreſſed the moſt virulent reſentment againſt each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undiſguiſed; but proud imperious, and precipitate. Leſtock had ſignalized his courage on many occaſions, and perfectly underſtood the whole diſcipline of the navy; but he was cool, cunning, and vindictive. He had been treated ſuperciliouſly by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this paſſion he betrayed the intereſt and glory of his country; for it is not to be doubted, but that he might have come up in time to engage; and, in that caſe, the fleets of France and Spain would, in all likelihood, have been deſtroyed: but he entrenched himſelf within the punctilios of diſcipline, and ſaw with pleaſure his antagoniſt expoſe himſelf to the hazard of death, ruin, and diſgrace. Matthews himſelf, in the ſequel, ſacrificed his duty to his reſentment, in reſtraining Leſtock from purſuing and attacking the combined ſquadrons on the third day after the en-

 gagement,

BOOK II. 1744.

gagement, when they appeared diſabled, and in manifeſt diſorder, and would have fallen an eaſy prey, had they been vigorouſly attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon theſe inſtances in which a community has ſo ſeverely ſuffered from the perſonal animoſity of individuals. The miſcarriage off Toulon became the ſubject of a parliamentary enquiry in England. The Commons, in an addreſs to the throne, deſired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time Leſtock had accuſed Matthews, and all the Captains of his diviſion who miſbehaved on the day of battle. The court-martial was conſtituted, and proceeded to tryal. Several Commanders of ſhips were caſhiered: Vice-Admiral Leſtock was honourably acquitted; and Admiral Matthews rendered incapable of ſerving for the future in his Majeſty's navy. All the world knew that Leſtock kept aloof, and that Matthews ruſhed into the hotteſt part of the engagement. Yet the former triumphed on his tryal, and the latter narrowly eſcaped the ſentence of death for cowardice and miſconduct. Such deciſions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

§ IX. The war in Germany, which had been almoſt extinguiſhed in the laſt campaign, began to revive, and raged with redoubled violence. The Emperor had ſolicited the mediation of his Britannick Majeſty, for compromiſing the differences between him and the Court of Vienna. Prince William of Heſſe-Caſſel had conferred with the King of England on this ſubject; and a negociation was begun at Hanau. The Emperor offered to diſmiſs the French auxiliaries, provided the Auſtrians would evacuate his hereditary dominions. Nay, Prince William and Lord Carteret, as Plenipotentiaries, actually agreed to preliminaries, by which his Imperial Majeſty engaged to renounce the alliance of France, and throw himſelf into the arms of the maritime

ritime powers; to resign all pretensions to the succession of the House of Austria; and to revive the vote of Bohemia in the electoral college, on condition of his being re-established in the possession of his dominions, recognized as Emperor by the Queen of Hungary, and accommodated with a monthly subsidy for his maintenance, as his own territories were exhausted and impoverished by the war. By a separate article, the King of Great-Britain promised to furnish him with three hundred thousand crowns, and to interpose his good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that his electoral dominions should be favourably treated. These preliminaries, though settled, were not signed. The Court of Vienna was unwilling to part with their conquests Bavaria, in and the Upper-Palatinate. The Queen trusted too much to the valour of her troops, and the wealth of her allies, to listen to such terms of accommodation; and whatever arguments were used with the King of Great-Britain, certain it is the negociation was dropped, on pretence that the articles were disapproved by the ministry of England. The Emperor, environed with distress, renewed his application to the King of Great-Britain; and even declared that he would refer his cause to the determination of the maritime powers: but all his advances were discountenanced; and the treaty of Worms dispelled all hope of accommodation. In this manner did the British ministry reject the fairest opportunity that could possibly occur of terminating the war in Germany with honour and advantage, and of freeing their country from that insufferable burthen of expence under which she groaned.

§ X. The inflexibility of the House of Austria, and its chief ally, proved serviceable to the Emperor. The forlorn situation of this unfortunate Prince excited the compassion of divers Princes: they resented the insolence with which the head of the empire had been treated by the Court of Vienna;

BOOK II. 1744. and they were alarmed at the increasing power of a family noted for pride, tyranny, and ambition. These considerations gave rise to the treaty of Franckfort, concluded in May between the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the King of Sweden as Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Elector Palatine. They engaged to preserve the constitution of the empire, according to the treaty of Westphalia, and to support the Emperor in his rank and dignity. They agreed to employ their good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that she might be induced to acknowledge the Emperor, to restore his hereditary dominions, and give up the archives of the empire that were in her possession. They guaranteed to each other their respective territories: the disputes about the succession of the late Emperor they referred to the decision of the States of the Empire: they promised to assist one another in case of being attacked; and they invited the King of Poland, the Elector of Cologn, and the Bishop of Liege, to accede to this treaty. Such was the confederacy that broke all the measures which had been concerted between the King of Great-Britain and her Hungarian Majesty, for the operations of the campaign. In the mean time, the French King declared war against this Princess, on pretence that she was obstinately deaf to all terms of accommodation, and determined to carry the war into the territories of France. In her counter-declaration she taxed Louis with having infringed the most solemn engagement, with respect to the pragmatick sanction; with having spirited up different pretenders, to lay claim to the succession of the late Emperor; with having endeavoured to instigate the common enemy of Christendom against her; and with having acted the incendiary in the north of Europe, that the Czarina might be prevented from assisting the House of Austria, while his numerous armies overspread the empire and desolated her hereditary countries. These re-

criminations

criminations were literally true. The Houses of Bourbon and Austria have, for many centuries, been the common disturbers and plagues of Europe. CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ XI. The King of France, though in himself pacifick and unenterprising, was stimulated by his ministry to taste the glory of conquest in the Netherlands, where he had assembled an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, provided with a very formidable train of artillery. The chief command was vested in the Mareschal Count de Saxe, who possessed great military talents, and proved to be one of the most fortunate Generals of the age in which he lived. The allied forces, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians, to the number of seventy thousand effective men, were in the month of May assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels, from whence they marched towards Oudenarde, and posted themselves behind the Schelde, being unable to retard the progress of the enemy. The French Monarch, attended by his favourite ladies, with all the pomp of eastern luxury, arrived at Lisle on the twelfth day of the same month; and in the adjacent plain reviewed his army. The States-General alarmed at his preparations, had, in a conference with his Ambassador at the Hague, expressed their apprehensions, and entreated his Most Christian Majesty would desist from his design of attacking their barrier. Their remonstrances having proved ineffectual, they now sent a minister to wait upon that Monarch, to enforce their former representations, and repeat their entreaties: but no regard was paid to his request. The French King told him, he was determined to prosecute the war with vigour, as his moderation hitherto had served to no other purpose but that of rendering his enemies more intractable. Accordingly, his troops invested Menin, which was in seven days surrendered upon capitulation. Ypres, Fort Knocke, and Furnes, underwent the same fate; and on the twenty-ninth day

BOOK II. 1744. day of June the King of France entered Dunkirk in triumph.

§ XII. He had taken ſuch precautions for the defence of Alſace, which was guarded by conſiderable armies under the command of Coigny and Seckendorff, that he thought he had nothing to fear from the Auſtrians in that quarter: beſides, he had received ſecret aſſurances that the King of Pruſſia would declare for the Emperor; ſo that he reſolved to purſue his conqueſts in the Netherlands. But all his meaſures were defeated by the activity of Prince Charles of Lorraine, and his officers, who found means to paſs the Rhine, and oblige the French and Bavarian Generals to retire to Lampertheim, that they might cover Strâſburgh. The Auſtrians made themſelves maſters of Haguenau and Saverne: they ſecured the paſſes of Lorraine: and laid all the country of Lower Alſace under contribution. The King of France was no ſooner apprized of the Prince's having paſſed the Rhine, and penetrated into this province, than he ſent off a detachment of thirty thouſand men from his army in Flanders to reinforce that under the Mareſchal de Coigny; and he himſelf began his journey from the Rhine, that he might in perſon check the progreſs of the enemy: but this deſign was anticipated by a ſevere diſtemper that overtook him at Mentz in Lorraine. The phyſicians deſpaired of his life. The Queen, with her children, and all the Princes of the blood, haſtened from Verſailles to pay the laſt duties to their dying Sovereign, who, as a true penitent, diſmiſſed his concubines, and began to prepare himſelf for death: yet the ſtrength of his conſtitution triumphed over the fever, and his recovery was celebrated all over his dominions with uncommon marks of joy and affection.

§ XIII. In the mean time the ſchemes of the Auſtrian General were fruſtrated by the King of Pruſſia, who, in the month of Auguſt, entered the electorate of Saxony, at the head of a numerous

army. There he declared, in a publick manifesto, that his aims were only to re-establish the peace of the empire, and to support the dignity of its head. He assured the inhabitants that they might depend upon his protection, in case they should remain quiet; but threatened them with fire and sword should they presume to oppose his arms. In a rescript, addressed to his ministers at foreign courts, he accused the Queen of Hungary of obstinacy, in refusing to acknowledge the Emperor, and restore his hereditary dominions: he said, he had engaged in the league of Franckfort, to hinder the head of the empire from being oppressed: that he had no intention to violate the peace of Breslau, or enter as a principal into this war: he affirmed, that his design was to act as auxiliary to the Emperor, and establish the quiet of Germany. He penetrated into Bohemia and undertook the siege of Prague, the Governor of which surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war on the sixteenth day of September. He afterwards reduced Tabor, Bodweis, and Teyn, and in a word subdued the greatest part of the kingdom; the Austrian forces in that country being in no condition to stop his progress. Nevertheless, he was soon obliged to relinquish his conquests. Prince Charles of Lorraine was recalled from Alsace, and repassed the Rhine in the face of the French army, commanded by the Mareschals de Coigny, Noailles, and Belleisle. Then he marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the troops under Bathiani at Merotiz. The King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, at this juncture, declared in favour of her Hungarian Majesty. A convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions, had been signed between those two powers in December; and now Prince Charles of Lorraine was reinforced by twenty thousand Saxon troops, under the conduct of the Duke of Saxe-Weissenfels. The

BOOK II. 1744.

combined army was ſuperior to that of his Pruſſian Majeſty, whom they reſolved to engage. But he retired before them, and having evacuated all the places he had garriſoned in Bohemia, retreated with precipitation into Sileſia. There his troops were put into winter-quarters; and he himſelf returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the iſſue of the campaign.

§ XIV. During theſe tranſactions, Count Seckendorff marched into Bavaria, at the head of a ſtrong army, drove the Auſtrians out of that electorate, and the Emperor regained poſſeſſion of Munich, his capital, on the twenty-ſecond Day of October. In Auguſt the French army paſſed the Rhine at Fort-Louis, and inveſted the ſtrong and important city of Fribourg, defended by General Demnitz, at the head of nine thouſand veterans. The King of France arrived in the camp on the eleventh day of October; and the ſiege was carried on with uncommon vigour. The Auſtrian Governor made incredible efforts in the defence of the place, which he maintained until it was reduced to a heap of ruins, and one half of the garriſon deſtroyed. At length, however, they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, after the trenches had been open five-and-forty days, during which they had killed above fifteen thouſand of the beſiegers. With this conqueſt the French King cloſed the campaign, and his army was cantoned along the Rhine, under the inſpection of the Count de Maillebois. By the detachments drawn from the French army in Flanders, Count Saxe had found himſelf conſiderably weaker than the Confederates: he threw up ſtrong entrenchments behind the Lys, where he remained on the defenſive, until he was reinforced by Count de Clermont, who commanded a ſeparate body on the ſide of Newport. The Allies, to the number of ſeventy thouſand, paſſed the Schelde, and advanced towards Helchin: but the enemy being ſo advantageouſly

posted, that they could not attack him with any prospect of advantage, they filed on in sight of Tournay; and on the eighth day of August encamped in the plains of Lisle, in hope of drawing Count Saxe from the situation in which he was so strongly fortified. Here they foraged for several days, and laid the open country under contribution: however, they made no attempt on the place itself, which in all probability would have fallen into their hands had they invested it at their first approach; for then there was no other garrison but two or three battalions of militia: but Count Saxe soon threw in a considerable reinforcement. The Allies were unprovided with a train of battering cannon; and their Commanders would not deviate from the usual form of war. Besides, they were divided in their opinions, and despised one another. General Wade, who commanded the English and Hanoverians, was a vain, weak man, without confidence, weight, or authority; and the Austrian General, the Duke d'Aremberg, was a proud, rapacious glutton, devoid of talents and sentiment. After having remained for some time in sight of Lisle, and made a general forage without molestation, they retired to their former camp on the Schelde, from whence they soon marched into winter-quarters. Count Saxe at length quitted his lines; and by way of retaliation, sent out detachments to ravage the Low-countries, to the very gates of Ghent and Bruges. The conduct of the allied Generals was severely censured in England, ridiculed in France, not only in private conversation but also on their publick theatres, where it became the subject of farces and pantomimes.

§ XV. The campaign in Italy produced divers vicissitudes of fortune. The King of Naples having assembled an army joined Count Gages, and published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct, which was a direct violation of the neutrality he had promised to observe. He maintained, that his moderation

BOOK II. 1744. deration had been undervalued by the Courts of London and Vienna; that his frontiers were threatened with the calamities of war; and that the Queen of Hungary made no ſecret of her intention to invade his dominions. This charge was not without foundation. The emiſſaries of the Houſe of Auſtria endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Naples, which Prince Lobkowitz had orders to favour by an invaſion. This General was encamped at Monte Rotundo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, when, in the month of June, the Confederates advanced to Velletri. While the two armies remained in ſight of each other, Prince Lobkowitz detached a ſtrong body of forces, under Count Soro and General Gorani, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, and took the city of Aquilla, where they diſtributed a manifeſto, in which the Queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, and ſubmit again to the Houſe of Auſtria. This ſtep, however, produced little or no effect; and the Auſtrian detachment retired at the approach of the Duke of Vieuville, with a ſuperior number of forces. In Auguſt, Count Brown, at the head of an Auſtrian detachment, ſurpriſed Velletri in the night; and the King of the Two Sicilies, with the Duke of Modena, were in the utmoſt danger of being taken. They eſcaped by a poſtern with great difficulty, and repaired to the quarters of Count Gages, who performed the part of a great General on this occaſion. He rallied the fugitives, diſpelled the panick and confuſion which had begun to prevail in his camp, and made a diſpoſition for cutting off the retreat of the Auſtrians. Count Brown, finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded, thought proper to ſecure his retreat, which he effected with great art and gallantry, carrying off a prodigious booty. Three thouſand Spaniards are ſaid to have fallen in this action; and eight hundred men were taken with ſome ſtandards and colours. Count Mariani, a Nea-

a Neapolitan General, was among the priſoners. The Auſtrians loſt about ſix hundred men; and General Novati fell into the hands of the enemy: but the exploit produced no conſequence of importance. The heats of Autumn proved ſo fatal to the Auſtrians, who were not accuſtomed to the climate, that Prince Lobkowitz ſaw his army mouldering away, without any poſſibility of its being recruited: beſides, the country was ſo drained that he could no longer procure ſubſiſtence. Impelled by theſe conſiderations, he meditated a retreat. On the eleventh day of November, he decamped from Faiola, marched under the walls of Rome, paſſed the Tiber at Ponte Molle, formerly known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had juſt time to break down behind him, when the vanguard of the Spaniards and Neapolitans appeared. Part of his rear-guard, however, was taken, with Count Soro who commanded it, at Nocero; and his army ſuffered greatly by deſertion. Nevertheleſs, he continued his retreat with equal ſkill and expedition, paſſed the mountains of Gubio, and by the way of Viterbo reached the Bologneſe. The Pope was altogether paſſive. In the beginning of the campaign he had careſſed Lobkowitz; and now he received the King of the Two Sicilies with marks of the warmeſt affection. That Prince having viſited the chief curioſities of Rome, returned to Naples, leaving part of his troops under the command of Count Gages.

§ XVI. Fortune likewiſe favoured his brother Don Philip, in Savoy and Piedmont. He was, early in the ſeaſon, joined at Antibes by the French army, under the conduct of the Prince of Conti. In the latter end of March, the combined forces paſſed the Var, reduced the caſtle of Aſpremont, and entered the city of Nice, without oppoſition. In April, they attacked the King of Sardinia, who, with twenty thouſand men, was ſtrongly entrenched among the mountains at Villa-Franca. The action was obſtinate

BOOK II. 1744. nate and bloody; but their numbers and perſeverance prevailed. He was obliged to abandon his poſts, and embark on board of the Britiſh ſquadron, which tranſported him and his troops to Vado. The intention of Don Philip was to penetrate through the territories of Genoa into the Milaneſe; but Admiral Matthews, who hovered with a ſtrong ſquadron on that coaſt, ſent a meſſage to the Republick, declaring, that ſhould the combined army be ſuffered to paſs through her dominions, the King of Great-Britain would conſider ſuch a ſtep as a breach of their neutrality. The Senate, intimidated by this intimation, entreated the Princes to deſiſt from their deſign, and they reſolved to chooſe another route. They defiled towards Piedmont, and aſſaulted the ſtrong poſt of Chateau-Dauphiné, defended by the King of Sardinia in perſon. After a deſperate attack, in which they loſt four thouſand men, the place was taken: the garriſon of Demont ſurrendered at diſcretion, and the whole country of Piedmont was laid under contribution. His Sardinian Majeſty was not in a condition to hazard a battle: and, therefore, poſted himſelf at Saluzzes, in order to cover his capital. The combined army advanced to the ſtrong and important town of Coni, which was inveſted in the beginning of September. Baron Leutrum the Governor made an obſtinate defence, and the ſituation of the place was ſuch as rendered the ſiege difficult, tedious, and bloody. The King of Sardinia being reinforced by ten thouſand Auſtrians, under General Pallavicini, advanced to its relief, and a battle enſued. The action was maintained with great vigour on both ſides, till night, when his Majeſty finding it impracticable to force the enemy's entrenchments, retired in good order to his camp at Muraſſo. He afterwards found means to throw a reinforcement and ſupply of proviſions into Coni; and the heavy rains that fell at this period, not only retarded, but even diſpirited the beſiegers. Nevertheleſs,

theless the Princes persisted in their design, notwithstanding a dearth of provisions, and the approach of winter, till the latter end of November, when the Chevalier de Soto entered the place with six hundred fresh men. This incident was no sooner known, than the Princes abandoned their enterprize; and leaving their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmontese, marched back to Demont. Having dismantled the fortifications of this place, they retreated with great precipitation to Dauphiné, and were dreadfully harassed by the Vaudois and light troops in the service of his Sardinian Majesty, who now again saw himself in possession of Piedmont. The French troops were quartered in Dauphiné; but Don Philip still maintained his footing in Savoy, the inhabitants of which he fleeced without mercy.

§ XVII. After the action at Toulon, nothing of consequence was achieved by the British squadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great-Britain was, during the summer, quite inactive. In the month of June, Commodore Anson returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous globe. We have formerly observed, that he sailed with a small squadron to the South-sea, in order to annoy the Spanish settlements of Chili and Peru. Two of his large ships having been separated from him in a storm before he weathered Cape-Horn, had put in at Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of Brasil, from whence they returned to Europe. A frigate commanded by Captain Cheap, was shipwrecked on a desolate island in the South-sea. Mr. Anson having undergone a dreadful tempest, which dispersed his fleet, arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the Gloucester, a ship of the line, a sloop, and a pink loaded with provisions. These were the remains of his squadron. He made prize of several vessels; took and burned the little town of Payta; set sail from the coast of Mexico,

BOOK II. 1744. Mexico, for the Philippine Isles; and in this passage the Gloucester was abandoned and sunk: the other vessels had been destroyed for want of men to navigate them, so that nothing now remained but the Commodore's own ship, the Centurion, and that but very indifferently manned; for the crews had been horribly thinned by sickness. Incredible were the hardships and misery they sustained from the shattered condition of the ships and the scorbutick disorder, when they reached the plentiful island of Tinian, where they were supplied with the necessary refreshments. Thence they prosecuted their voyage to the river of Canton in China, where the Commodore ordered the ship to be sheathed, and found means to procure a reinforcement of sailors. The chief object of his attention was the rich annual ship that sails between Acapulco, in Mexico, and Manilla, one of the Philippine Islands. In hopes of intercepting her, he set sail from Canton, and steered his course back to the straits of Manilla, where she actually fell into his hands, after a short but vigorous engagement. The prize was called Neustra Signora de Cabodonga, mounted with forty guns, manned with six hundred sailors, and loaded with treasure and effects to the value of three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling: with this windfal he returned to Canton; from whence he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and prosecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in safety. Though this fortunate Commander enriched himself by an occurrence that may be termed almost accidental, the British nation was not indemnified for the expence of the expedition; and the original design was entirely defeated. Had the Manilla ship escaped the vigilance of the English Commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aside as a superannuated Captain, and died in obscurity, but his great wealth invested him with considerable influence, and added lustre to his talents. He soon became the

the oracle which was consulted in all naval deliberations; and the King raised him to the dignity of a peerage. In July, Sir John Balchen, an Admiral of approved valour and great experience, sailed from Spithead with a strong squadron, in quest of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Brest, under the command of M. de Rochambault. In the bay of Biscay he was overtaken by a violent storm, that dispersed the Ships, and drove them up the English channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth; but Sir John Balchen's own ship, the Victory, which was counted the most beautiful first-rate in the world, foundered at sea; and this brave Commander perished, with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to eleven hundred choice seamen. On the fourth day of October, after the siege of Fribourg, the Marshal Duke de Belleisle, and his brother, happened, in their way to Berlin, to halt at a village in the forest of Hartz, dependent on the electorate of Hanover. There they were apprehended by the bailiff of the place, and conducted as prisoners to Osterode; from whence they were removed to Stade on the Elbe, where they embarked for England. They resided at Windsor till the following year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel which had been established between Great-Britain and France at Franckfort, and released accordingly, after they had been treated by the British nobility with that respect and hospitality which was due to their rank and merit*.

§ XVIII. The dissensions in the British cabinet were now ripened into another revolution in the ministry. Lord Carteret, who was by this time Earl Granville, in consequence of his mother's death, had engrossed the royal favour so much, that the Duke

* Mr. Pope, the celebrated poet, died in the month of June. In October, the old Duchess of Marlborough resigned her breath, in the eighty-fifth year of her age, immensely rich, and very little regretted, either by her own family, or the world in general.

BOOK II. 1744.

of N—— and his brother are ſaid to have taken umbrage at his influence and greatneſs. He had incurred the reſentment of thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Patriots, and entirely forfeited his popularity. The two brothers were very powerful by their parliamentary intereſt; they knew their own ſtrength, and engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in the oppoſition, againſt the prime Miniſter and his meaſures. This coalition was dignified with the epithet of "The Broad Bottom," as if it had been eſtabliſhed on a true conſtitutional foundation, comprehending individuals of every claſs, without diſtinction of party. The appellation, however, which they aſſumed was afterwards converted into a term of deriſion. The Earl of Granville perceiving the gathering ſtorm, and foreſeeing the impoſſibility of withſtanding ſuch an oppoſition in Parliament, wiſely avoided the impending danger and diſgrace, by a voluntary reſignation of his employments. The Earl of Harrington ſucceeded him as Secretary of State. The Duke of Bedford was appointed firſt Lord of the Admiralty, and the Earl of Cheſterfield declared Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The Lords Gower and Cobham were re-eſtabliſhed in the offices they had reſigned; Mr. Lyttelton was admitted as a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; even Sir John Hynde Cotton accepted of a place at Court; and Sir John Philips ſat at the Board of Trade and Plantations, though he ſoon renounced this employment. This was rather a change of men than of meaſures, and turned out to the eaſe and advantage of the Sovereign; for his views were no longer thwarted by an obſtinate oppoſition in Parliament. The ſeſſion was opened on the twenty-eighth day of November, in the uſual manner. The Commons unanimouſly granted about ſix millions and an half for the ſervice of the enſuing year, to be raiſed by the land, the malt, and the ſalt taxes, the ſinking-fund, and an additional duty on wines. In

January,

January the Earl of Chesterfield set out for the Hague, with the character of Ambassador Extraordinary, to persuade, if possible, the States-General to engage heartily in the war. About the same time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was signed at Warsaw, by the Queen of Hungary, the King of Poland, and the Maritime Powers. This was a mutual guarantee of the dominions belonging to the contracting parties: but his Polish Majesty was paid for his concurrence, with an annual subsidy of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, two thirds of which were defrayed by England, and the remainder was disbursed by the United Provinces*. CHAP. VIII. 1744.

§ XIX. The business of the British Parliament being discussed, the session was closed in the beginning of May; and immediately after the prorogation, the King set out for Hanover. The death of the Emperor Charles VII. which happened in the month of January, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the Empire, and all the Princes of Germany were in commotion. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, consort to her Hungarian Majesty, was immediately declared a candidate for the Imperial crown; while his pretensions were warmly opposed by the French King and his allies. The Court of Vienna, taking advantage of the late Emperor's death, sent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of General Bathiani, who routed the French and Palatine troops at Pfiffenhoven; took possession of Rain; surrounded and disarmed six thousand Hessians in the neighbourhood of Ingoldstadt; and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate. The young Elector was obliged to aban- An. 1745.

* Robert Earl of Orford, late Prime Minister, died in March, after having for a very short time enjoyed a pension of four thousand pounds granted by the Crown, in consideration of his past services. Though he had for such a length of time directed the application of the publick treasure, his circumstances were not affluent: he was liberal in his disposition, and had such a number of rapacious dependents to gratify, that little was left for his own private occasions.

BOOK II. 1745.

don his capital, and retire to Augſburgh, where he found himſelf in danger of loſing all his dominions. In this emergency, he yielded to the earneſt ſolicitations of the Empreſs his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the Elector of Cologn, and of his General, Count Seckendorff, who exhorted him to be reconciled to the Court of Vienna. A negociation was immediately begun at Fueſſen, where, in April, the treaty was concluded. The Queen conſented to recognize the Imperial dignity, as having been veſted in the perſon of his father; to acknowledge his mother as Empreſs Dowager; to reſtore his dominions, with all the fortreſſes, artillery, ſtores, and ammunition which ſhe had taken: on the other hand, he renounced all claim to the ſucceſſion of her father, and became guarantee of the pragmatick ſanction: he acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the perſon of the Queen; and engaged to give his voice for the Grand Duke, at the enſuing election of a King of the Romans. Until that ſhould be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldſtadt ſhould be garriſoned by neutral troops; and that Braunau and Schardingen, with all the country lying between the Inn and the Saltza, ſhould remain in the Queen's poſſeſſion, though without prejudice to the civil government, or the Elector's revenue. In the mean time he diſmiſſed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were permitted to retire without moleſtation.

§ XX. The Court of Vienna had now ſecured the votes of all the Electors, except thoſe of Brandenburgh and the Palatinate. Nevertheleſs, France aſſembled a powerful army, in the neighbourhood of Franckfort, in order to influence the election. But the Auſtrian army, commanded by the Grand Duke in perſon, marched thither from the Danube; and the Prince of Conti was obliged to repaſs the Rhine at Nordlingen. Then the Great Duke repaired to Franckfort, where, on the ſecond day of September,

he

he was by a majority of voices declared King of the Romans, and Emperor of Germany. Meanwhile the King of Pruſſia had made great progreſs in the conqueſt of Sileſia. The campaign began in January, when the Hungarian inſurgents were obliged to retire into Moravia. In the following month the Pruſſian General Lehwald defeated a body of twelve thouſand Auſtrians, commanded by General Helſrich; the town of Ratibor was taken by aſſault; and the King entered Sileſia, in May, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men. Prince Charles of Lorraine, being joined by the Duke of Saxe-Weſſenfels and twenty thouſand Saxons, penetrated into Sileſia by the defiles of Landſhut; and were attacked by his Pruſſian Majeſty in the plains of Striegan, near Friedberg. The battle was maintained from morning till noon, when the Saxons giving way, Prince Charles was obliged to retire with the loſs of twelve thouſand men, and a great number of colours, ſtandards, and artillery. This victory, obtained on the fourth day of June, complete as it was, did not prove deciſive; for, though the victor transferred the ſeat of the war into Bohemia, and maintained his army by raiſing contributions in that country, the Auſtrians reſolved to hazard another engagement. Their aim was to ſurprize him in his camp at Sohr, which they attacked on the thirtieth of September, at day-break; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that notwithſtanding their repeated efforts during the ſpace of four hours, they were repulſed with conſiderable damage, and retreated to Jaromire, leaving five thouſand killed upon the ſpot, beſides two thouſand that were taken, with many ſtandards, and twenty pieces of cannon. The loſs of this battle was in a great meaſure owing to the avarice of the irregulars, who having penetrated into the Pruſſian camp, began to pillage with great eagerneſs, giving the King an opportunity to rally his diſordered troops, and reſtore the battle: nevertheleſs, they retired with the plun-

CHAP. VIII.

1745.

BOOK II. 1745. der of his baggage, including his military cheſt, the officers of his chancery, his own ſecretary, and all the papers of his cabinet.

§ XXI. After this action his Pruſſian Majeſty returned to Berlin, and breathed nothing but peace and moderation. In Auguſt he had ſigned a convention with the King of Great-Britain, who became guarantee of his poſſeſſions in Sileſia, as yielded by the treaty of Breſlau; and he promiſed to vote for the Grand Duke of Tuſcany at the election of an Emperor. This was intended as the baſis of a more general accommodation. But he now pretended to have received undoubted intelligence, that the King of Poland and the Queen of Hungary had agreed to invade Brandenburgh with three different armies; and that, for this purpoſe, his Poliſh Majeſty had demanded of the Czarina the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty between the two Crowns. Alarmed, or ſeemingly alarmed, at this information, he ſolicited the Maritime Powers to fulfil their engagements, and interpoſe their good offices with the Court of Peterſburgh. Yet, far from waiting for the reſult of theſe remonſtrances, he made a ſudden irruption into Luſatia, took poſſeſſion of Gorlitz, and obliged Prince Charles of Lorraine to retire before him into Bohemia. Then he entered Leipſick, and laid Saxony under contribution. The King of Poland, unable to reſiſt the torrent, quitted his capital, and took refuge in Prague. His troops, reinforced by a body of Auſtrians, were defeated at Pirna on the fifteenth day of December; and his Pruſſian Majeſty became maſter of Dreſden without further oppoſition. The King of Poland, thus deprived of his hereditary dominions, was fain to acquieſce in ſuch terms as the conqueror thought proper to impoſe; and the treaty of Dreſden was concluded under the mediation of his Britannick Majeſty. By this convention the King of Pruſſia retained all the contributions he had levied in Saxony; and was entitled to a million of

of German crowns, to be paid by his Popiſh Majeſty at the next fair of Leipſick. He and the Elector Palatine conſented to acknowledge the Grand Duke as Emperor of Germany; and this laſt confirmed to his Pruſſian Majeſty certain privileges *de non evocando*, which had been granted by the late Emperor, with regard to ſome territories poſſeſſed by the King of Pruſſia, though not belonging to the electorate of Brandenburgh. Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the Pruſſian troops evacuated Saxony; and the peace of Germany was reſtored.

§ XXII. Though the French King could not prevent the elevation of the Grand Duke to the Imperial throne, he reſolved to humble the Houſe of Auſtria, by making a conqueſt of the Netherlands. A prodigious army was there aſſembled, under the auſpices of Mareſchal Count de Saxe; and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with the Dauphin, arriving in the camp, they inveſted the ſtrong town of Tournay on the thirtieth day of April. The Dutch garriſon conſiſted of eight thouſand men, commanded by the old Baron Dorth, who made a vigorous defence. The Duke of Cumberland aſſumed the chief command of the allied army aſſembled at Soignies: he was aſſiſted with the advice of the Count Konigſeg, an Auſtrian General, and the Prince of Waldeck, Commander of the Dutch forces. Their army was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy; nevertheleſs, they reſolved to march to the relief of Tournay. They accordingly advanced to Leuſe; and on the twenty-eighth day of April took poſt at Maulbre, in ſight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence, from the village of Antoine to a large wood beyond Vezon, having Fontenoy in their front. Next day was employed by the Allies in driving the enemy from ſome outpoſts, and clearing the defiles through which they were obliged to advance to the attack; while the

BOOK II. 1745.

the French completed their batteries, and made the moſt formidable preparations for their reception. On the thirtieth day of April, the Duke of Cumberland, having made the proper diſpoſitions, began his march to the enemy at two o'clock in the morning: a briſk cannonade enſued; and about nine both armies were engaged. The Britiſh infantry drove the French beyond their lines: but the left wing failing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they meaſured back their ground with ſome diſorder, from the prodigious fire of the French batteries. They rallied, however, and returning to the charge with redoubled ardour, repulſed the enemy to their camp with great ſlaughter; but, being wholly unſupported by the other wing, and expoſed both in front and flank to a dreadful fire, which did great execution, the Duke was obliged to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon; and this was effected in tolerable order. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy, and the carnage on both ſides was very conſiderable. The Allies loſt about twelve thouſand men, including a good number of officers; among theſe were Lieutenant-General Campbell, and Major-General Ponſonby. The victory coſt the French almoſt an equal number of lives; and no honour was loſt by the vanquiſhed. Had the Allies given battle on the preceding day, before the enemy had taken their meaſures, and received all their reinforcements, they might have ſucceeded in their endeavours to relieve Tournay. Although the attack was generally judged raſh and precipitate, the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops fought with ſuch intrepidity and perſeverance, that if they had been properly ſuſtained by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in all likelihood, would have been obliged to abandon their enterprize. The Duke of Cumberland left his ſick and wounded to the humanity

of

of the victors; and retiring to Aeth, encamped in an advantageous ſituation at Leſſines. The garriſon of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope of ſuccour, maintained the place to the twenty-firſt day of June, when the Governor obtained an honourable capitulation. After the conqueſt of this frontier, which was diſmantled, the Duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a deſign upon Ghent, ſent a detachment of four thouſand men to reinforce the garriſon of that city, but they fell into an ambuſcade at Pas-du-mêle; and were killed or taken, except a few dragoons that eſcaped to Oſtend: on that very night, which was the twelfth of June, Ghent was ſurprized by a detachment of the French army. Then they inveſted Oſtend, which, though defended by an Engliſh garriſon, and open to the ſea, was, after a ſhort ſiege, ſurrendered by capitulation on the fourteenth day of Auguſt. Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth, underwent the ſame fate; while the allied army lay entrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp. The French King having ſubdued the greateſt part of the Auſtrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

§ XXIII. The campaign in Italy was unpropitious to the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia. Count Gages paſſed the Apennines, and entered the State of Lucca: from thence he proceeded by the Eaſtern coaſt of Genoa to Leſtride-Levante. The junction of the two armies was thus accompliſhed and reinforced with ten thouſand Genoeſe: meanwhile Prince Lobkowitz decamped from Modena and took poſt at Parma: but he was ſoon ſucceeded by Count Schuylemberg, and ſent to command the Auſtrians in Bohemia. The Spaniards entered the Milaneſe without further oppoſition. Count Gages, with thirty thouſand men, took poſſeſſion of Serravalle; and advancing towards Placentia, obliged the Auſtrians to retire under the cannon

BOOK II. 1745. cannon of Tortona: but when Don Philip, at the head of forty thousand troops, made himself master of Acqui, the King of Sardinia and the Austrian General, unable to stem the torrent, retreated behind the Tanaro. The strong citadel of Tortona was taken by the Spaniards, who likewise reduced Parma and Placentia; and forcing the passage of the Tanaro, compelled his Sardinian Majesty to take shelter on the other side of the Po. Then Pavia was won by scalade; and the city of Milan submitted to the Infant, though the Austrian garrison still maintained the citadel; all Piedmont, on both sides of the Po, as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a siege; so that by the month of October the territories belonging to the House of Austria, in Italy, were wholly subdued; and the King of Sardinia stripped of all his dominions: yet he continued firm and true to his engagements, and deaf to all proposals of a separate accommodation.

§ XXIV. The naval transactions of Great-Britain were in the course of this year remarkably spirited. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command: Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia, the capital of Corsica, were bombarded: several Spanish ships were taken: but he could not prevent the safe arrival of their rich Havannah squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet, in the East-Indies, made prize of several French ships, richly laden; and Commodore Townshend in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisbourg on the isle of Cape-Breton, in North-America: a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expence. The scheme of reducing

this fortreſs was planned in Boſton, recommended by their general aſſembly, and approved by his Majeſty, who ſent inſtructions to Commodore Warren, ſtationed off the Leeward Iſlands, to ſail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New-England in this expedition. A body of ſix thouſand men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piſcataquay, whoſe influence was extenſive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utte ly unacquainted with military operations. In April Mr. Warren arrived at Canſo with ten ſhips of war; and the troops of New-England being embarked in tranſports, ſailed immediately for the iſle of Cape-Breton, where they landed without oppoſition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town: and the immediate ſeizure of it contributed in a good meaſure to the ſucceſs of the enterprize. While the American troops, reinforced by eight hundred marines, carried on their approaches by land, the ſquadron blocked up the place by ſea in ſuch a manner, that no ſuccours could be introduced. A French ſhip of the line, with ſome ſmaller veſſels deſtined for the relief of the garriſon, were intercepted and taken by the Britiſh cruiſers; and, indeed, the reduction of Louiſbourg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the braveſt and beſt officers in the ſervice of England. The operations of the ſiege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the Britiſh marines; and the Americans, being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being conſiderably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the beſiegers, and the garriſon deſpairing of relief, the Governor capitulated on the ſeventeenth day of June, when the city of Louiſbourg, and the iſle of Cape-Breton, were ſurrendered to his Britannick Majeſty. The garriſon and inhabitants engaged that

1745.

BOOK II. 1745. that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great-Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochefort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisbourg, two French East-India ships, and another from Peru, laden with treasure, sailed into the harbour, on the supposition that it still belonged to France, and were taken by the English squadron.

§ XXV. The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, Mr. Pepperel was preferred to the dignity of a Baronet of Great-Britain, and congratulatory addresses were presented to the King on the success of his Majesty's arms. The possession of Cape-Breton was, doubtless, a valuable acquisition to Great-Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalship from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New-England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbour; over-awed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great-Britain. The plan of this conquest was originally laid by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of Admiralty in New-England. He demonstrated, that the reduction of Cape-Breton would put the English in sole possession of the fishery of North-America, which would annually return to Great-Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations: employ many thousand familes that were otherwise unserviceable to the publick: increase the shipping and mariners: extend navigation; cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Laurence; so that Quebec would fall of course into the hands of the English, who might expel the French entirely from America, open a correspondence with the remote Indians, and render themselves masters of the profitable fur-trade, which was now engrossed by the enemy. The natives of New-England

England acquired great glory from the ſucceſs of this enterprize. Britain, which had in ſome inſtances behaved like a ſtepmother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated thoſe as brethren whom ſhe had too long conſidered as aliens and rivals. Circumſtanced as the nation is, the legiſlature cannot too tenderly cheriſh the intereſts of the Britiſh plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, induſtrious people, animated with an active ſpirit of commerce; inſpired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence. The trade of Great-Britain, clogged with heavy taxes and impoſitions, has for ſome time languiſhed in many valuable branches. The French have underſold our cloths, and ſpoiled our markets in the Levant. Spain is no longer ſupplied as uſual with the commodities of England: the exports to Germany muſt be conſiderably diminiſhed by the miſunderſtanding between Great-Britain and the Houſe of Auſtria; conſequently, her greateſt reſource muſt be in her communication with her own colonies, which conſume her manufactures, and make immenſe returns in ſugar, rum, tobacco, fiſh, timber, naval ſtores, iron, furs, drugs, rice, and indigo. The ſouthern plantations likewiſe produce ſilk; and with due encouragement might furniſh every thing that could be expected from the moſt fertile ſoil and the happieſt climate. The continent of North-America, if properly cultivated, will prove an inexhauſtible fund of wealth and ſtrength to Great-Britain; and perhaps it may become the laſt aſylum of Britiſh liberty. When the nation is enſlaved by domeſtick deſpotiſm or foreign dominion; when her ſubſtance is waſted, her ſpirit broke, and the laws and conſtitution of England are no more; then thoſe colonies, ſent off by our fathers, may receive and entertain their ſons as hapleſs exiles, and ruined refugees.

CHAP. VIII.

1745.

§ XXVI.

BOOK II. 1745.

§ XXVI. While the continent of Europe and the isles of America were thus exposed to the ravages of war, and subjected to such vicissitudes of fortune, Great-Britain underwent a dangerous convulsion in her own bowels. The son of the Chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors, resolved to make an effort for that purpose, which, though it might not be crowned with success, should at least astonish all Christendom. The Jacobites in England and Scotland had promised, that if he would land in Britain at the head of a regular army, they would supply him with provisions, carriages, and horses, and a great number of them declared they would take up arms, and join his standard: but they disapproved of his coming over without forces, as a dangerous enterprize, that would in all probability end in the ruin of himself and all his adherents. This advice, including an exact detail of his father's interest, with the dispositions of his particular friends in every town and county, was transmitted to London in January, in order to be forwarded to Prince Charles: but the person with whom it was entrusted could find no safe method of conveyance; so that he sent it back to Scotland, from whence it was dispatched to France; but before it reached Paris, Charles had left that kingdom. Had the paper come to his hands in due time, perhaps he would not have embarked in the undertaking, though he was stimulated to the attempt by many concurring motives. Certain it is, he was cajoled by the sanguine misrepresentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition. They assured him, that the whole nation was disaffected to the reigning family: that the people could no longer bear the immense load of taxes, which was daily increasing; and that the most considerable persons of the kingdom would gladly seize the first opportunity of crowding to his standard. On the other hand, he

he knew the Britiſh government had taken ſome effectual ſteps to alienate the friends of his houſe from the principles they had hitherto profeſſed. Some of them had accepted poſts and penſions: others were preferred in the army; and the Parliament were ſo attached to the reigning family, that he had nothing to hope from their deliberations. He expected no material ſuccour from the Court of France; he foreſaw that delay would diminiſh the number of his adherents in Great-Britain; and, therefore, reſolved to ſeize the preſent occaſion, which in many reſpects was propitious to his deſign. Without doubt, had he been properly ſupported, he could not have found a more favourable opportunity of exciting an inteſtine commotion in Great-Britain: for Scotland was quite unfurniſhed with troops; King George was in Germany; the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of the Britiſh army, was employed in Flanders, and great part of the Highlanders were keen for inſurrection. Their natural principles were on this occaſion ſtimulated by the ſuggeſtions of revenge. At the beginning of the war a regiment of thoſe people had been formed, and tranſported with the reſt of the Britiſh troops to Flanders. Before they were embarked, a number of them deſerted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the ſervice, by promiſes and aſſurances that they ſhould never be ſent abroad; and this was really the caſe. They were overtaken by a body of horſe, perſuaded to ſubmit, brought back to London pinioned like malefactors, and tried for deſertion. Three were ſhot to death *in terrorem*; and the reſt were ſent in exile to the plantations. Thoſe who ſuffered were perſons of ſome conſequence in their own country; and their fate was deeply reſented by the clans to which they belonged. It was conſidered as a national outrage: and the Highlanders, who are naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

§ XXVII.

BOOK II. 1745.

§ XXVII. The young Pretender being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms, on his private credit, without the knowledge of the French Court, wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his design and situation, intimating the place where he intended to land, communicating a private signal, and assuring them he should be with them by the middle of June. These precautions being taken, he embarked on board of a small frigate at Port St. Nazaire, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Mackdonald, with a few other Irish and Scottish adventurers; and setting sail on the fourteenth of July, was joined off Belleisle by the Elisabeth, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-six guns, as his convoy*. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland; but falling in with the Lion, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued. The Elisabeth was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest; but the Lion was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. The disaster of the Elisabeth was a great misfortune to the Adventurer, as by her being disabled he lost a great quantity of arms, and about one hundred able officers, who were embarked on board of her for the benefit of his expedition. Had this ship arrived in Scotland, she could easily have reduced Fort-William, situated in the midst of the clans attached to the Stuart family. Such a conquest, by giving lustre to the Prince's arms, would have allured many to his standard, who were indifferent in point of principle; and encouraged a great number of Highlanders to join him, who were restricted by the apprehension, that their wives and families would

* The Elisabeth, a King's ship, was procured as a convoy, by the interest of Mr. Walsh, an Irish merchant at Nantes; and on board of her fifty French young gentlemen embarked as volunteers.

be subject to insults from the English garrison of this fortress. Prince Charles, in the frigate, continued his course to the western isles of Scotland. After a voyage of eighteen days he landed on a little island between Barra and South-Inst, two of the Hebrides: then he reimbarked, and in a few days arrived at Borodale in Arnsacy, on the confines of Lochnannach, where he was in a little time joined by a considerable number of hardy mountaineers, under their respective chiefs or leaders. On the nineteenth day of August, the Marquis of Tullibardine erected the Pretender's standard at Glensinnan. Some of those, however, on whom Charles principally depended, now stood aloof, either fluctuating in their principles, astonished at the boldness of the undertaking, or startled at the remonstrances of their friends, who did not fail to represent, in aggravated colours, all the danger of embarking in such a desperate enterprize. Had the government acted with proper vigour when they received intelligence of his arrival, the Adventurer must have been crushed in embryo, before any considerable number of his adherents could have been brought together: but the Lords of the Regency seemed to slight the information, and even to suspect the integrity of those by whom it was conveyed. They were soon convinced of their mistake. Prince Charles having assembled about twelve hundred men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort-William; and immediately hostilities were commenced. A handful of Keppoch's clan, commanded by Major Donald Mac Donald, even before they joined the Pretender, attacked two companies of new-raised soldiers, who, with their officer, were disarmed after an obstinate dispute: another Captain of the King's forces, falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the Pretender's manifestos, and a passport for his personal safety. The administration was now effectually alarmed. The Lords of the Regency issued a pro-

SARAJA SERFOJI'S

BOOK II. 1745. a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thouſand pounds to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the Prince-Adventurer. The ſame price was ſet upon the head of the Elector of Hanover, in a proclamation publiſhed by the Pretender. A courier was diſpatched to Holland, to haſten the return of his Majeſty, who arrived in England about the latter end of Auguſt. A requiſition was made of the ſix thouſand Dutch auxiliaries; and ſeveral Britiſh regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal addreſs was preſented to the King by the city of London; and the merchants of this metropolis reſolved to raiſe two regiments at their own expence. Orders were iſſued to keep the trained-bands in readineſs; to array the Militia of Weſtminſter; and inſtructions to the ſame effect were ſent to all the Lords-Lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. The principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their ſervices to their Sovereign; and ſome of them received commiſſions to levy regiments towards the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; aſſociations were formed, large contributions raiſed in different towns, counties, and communities; and a great number of eminent merchants in London agreed to ſupport the publick credit, by receiving, as uſual, Bank notes in payment for the purpoſes of traffick. The Proteſtant clergy of all denominations exerted themſelves with extraordinary ardour, in preaching againſt the religion of Rome and the Pretender; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated, and confirmed in their principles, by ſeveral ſpiritual productions publiſhed for the occaſion.

§ XXVIII. In a word, the bulk of the nation ſeemed unanimouſly bent upon oppoſing the enterprize of the pretender, who nevertheleſs, had already made ſurpriſing progreſs. His arrival in Scotland was no ſooner confirmed, than Sir John Cope, who

who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what force he could bring together, and advanced against the rebels. Understanding, however, that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he changed his route, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern parts of North-Britain wholly exposed to the incursions of the enemy. The Highlanders forthwith marched to Perth, where the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed King of Great-Britain, and the publick money seized for his use: the same steps were taken at Dundee and other places. Prince Charles was joined by the nobleman who assumed the title of Duke of Perth, the Viscount Strathallan, Lord Nairn, Lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction, with their followers. The Marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took possession of Athol, as heir of blood to the titles and estates which his younger brother enjoyed in consequence of his attainder; and met with some success in arming the tenants for the support of that cause which he avowed. The rebel army being considerably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, where they were joined by Lord Elcho, son of the Earl of Wemys, and other persons of some distinction. On the sixteenth day of September Charles summoned the town to surrender. The inhabitants were divided by faction, and distracted by fear: the place was not in a posture of defence, and the magistrates would not expose the people to the uncertain issue of an assault. Several deputations were sent from the town to the Pretender, in order to negociate terms of capitulation. In the mean time, one of the gates being opened for the admission of a coach, Cameron of Lochiel, one of the most powerful of the Highland chiefs, rushed into the place with a party of his men, and secured it

CHAP. VIII.

1745.

BOOK II. 1745. it without oppoſition. Next morning the whole rebel army entered, and their Prince took poſſeſſion of the Royal palace of Holyrood-houſe in the ſuburbs. Then he cauſed his father to be proclaimed at the market-croſs; there alſo the manifeſto was read, in which the Chevalier de St. George declared his ſon Charles, Regent of his dominions, promiſed to diſſolve the Union, and redreſs the grievances of Scotland. His being in poſſeſſion of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms: but the treaſure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom had been previouſly conveyed into the caſtle, a ſtrong fortreſs, with a good garriſon, under the command of General Gueſt, an old officer of experience and capacity.

§ XXIX. During theſe tranſactions, Sir John Cope marched back from Inverneſs to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the ſeventeenth day of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eaſtward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired with precipitation from the capital at the approach of the Highland army. With this reinforcement, his troops amounted to near three thouſand men; and he began his march to Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the twentieth day of the month, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preſton-pans, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the ſea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young Pretender, at the head of about two thouſand four hundred Highlanders half-armed, who charged them ſword in hand with ſuch impetuoſity, that in leſs than ten minutes after the battle began, the King's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled in the utmoſt confuſion at the firſt onſet; the general officers having made ſome unſucceſsful efforts to rally them, thought proper to conſult their own ſafety by an expeditious retreat towards Coldſtream

ſtream on the Tweed. All the infantry were either killed or taken; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military cheſt, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh. Never was victory more complete, or obtained at a ſmaller expence; for not above fifty of the rebels loſt their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the King's troops were killed on the field of battle; and among theſe Colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, who diſdained to ſave his life at the expence of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horſe, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in ſight of his own threſhold. Prince Charles bore his good fortune with moderation. He prohibited all rejoicings for the victory he had obtained: the wounded ſoldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were ſent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their parole, which the greater part of them ſhamefully broke in the ſequel. From this victory the Pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was ſupplied with a train of field-artillery, and a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of all Scotland, except the fortreſſes, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers. After the battle he was joined by a ſmall detachment from the Highlands; and ſome chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reſerve, began to exert their influence in his favour. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that conſternation which his late ſucceſs had diffuſed through the kingdom of England.

CHAP. VIII.

1745.

§ XXX. Charles continued to reſide in the palace of Holyrood-houſe*; and took meaſures for cutting off

* While he reſided at Edinburgh, ſome of the Preſbyterian Clergy continued to preach in the churches of that city, and publickly prayed

BOOK II. 1745.

off the communication between the caſtle and the city. General Gueſt declared that he would demoliſh the city, unleſs the blockade ſhould be raiſed, ſo as that proviſion might be carried into the caſtle. After having waited the return of an expreſs which he had found means to diſpatch to Court, he began to put his threats in execution, by firing upon the town. Some houſes were beaten down, and ſeveral perſons killed even at the market-croſs. The citizens, alarmed at this diſaſter, ſent a deputation to the Prince, entreating him to raiſe the blockade; and he complied with their requeſt. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. He impoſed taxes; ſeized the merchandize that was depoſited in the King's warehouſes at Leith, and other places; and compelled the city of Glaſgow to accommodate him with a large ſum, to be repaid when the peace of the kingdom ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. The number of his followers daily increaſed: and he received conſiderable ſupplies of money, artillery, and ammunition, by ſingle ſhips that arrived from France, where his intereſt ſeemed to riſe in proportion to the ſucceſs of his arms. The greater and richer part of Scotland was averſe to his family and pretenſions: but the people were unarmed and undiſciplined, conſequently paſſive under his dominion. By this time, however, the Prince-Pretender was joined by the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvy, Pitſligo; and the eldeſt ſon of Lord Lovat had begun to aſſemble his father's clan, in order to reinforce the Victor, whoſe army lay encamped at Duddingſton, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were men

prayed for King George, without ſuffering the leaſt puniſhment or moleſtation. One miniſter in particular, of the name of Mac Viçar, being ſolicited by ſome Highlanders to pray for their Prince, promiſed to comply with their requeſt, and performed his promiſe in words to this effect: "And as for the young Prince, who is come "hither in queſt of an earthly crown, grant, O Lord, that he may "ſpeedily receive a crown of glory."

of broken and desperate fortune: Elcho and Ogilvy were sons to the Earls of Wemys and Airly; so that their influence was far from being extensive. Pitsligo was a nobleman of a very amiable character, as well as of great personal interest; and great dependence was placed upon the power and attachment of Lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the Chevalier de St. George, though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for the Pretender. This old nobleman is the same Simon Fraser whom we have had occasion to mention as a partisan and emissary of the Court of St. Germain's, in the year one thousand seven hundred and three. He had renounced his connexions with that family; and, in the rebellion immediately after the accession of King George I. approved himself a warm friend to the Protestant succession. Since that period he had been induced, by disgust and ambition, to change his principles again, and was, in secret, an enthusiast in Jacobitism. He had greatly augmented his estate, and obtained a considerable interest in the Highlands, where, however, he was rather dreaded than beloved. He was bold, enterprising, vain, arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful: but his character was chiefly marked by a species of low cunning and dissimulation, which, however, overshot his purpose, and contributed to his own ruin. While Charles resided at Edinburgh, the Marquis de Guilles arrived at Montrose, as Envoy from the French King, with several officers, some cannon, and a considerable quantity of small arms for the use of that Adventurer*.

§ XXXI. While the young Pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had gained, the

* He solicited, and is said to have obtained of the Chevalier de St. George, the patent of a Duke, and a commission for being Lord-lieutenant of all the   ghlands.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARA

BOOK II. 1745.

the Ministry of Great-Britain took every possible measure to retard his progress. Several powerful Chiefs in the Highlands were attached to the government, and exerted themselves in its defence. The Duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals; but not before he had obtained the sanction of the Legislature. Twelve hundred men were raised by the Earl of Sutherland: the Lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his Majesty: Sir Alexander Macdonald declared for King George, and the Laird of Macleod sent two thousand hardy islanders from Skie, to strengthen the same interest. These gentlemen, though supposed to be otherwise affected, were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, President of the College of Justice at Edinburgh; a man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners; and unblemished integrity. He procured commissions for raising twenty independent companies, and some of these he bestowed upon individuals, who were either attached by principle, or engaged by promise, to the Pretender. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family; and greatly injured an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several Chiefs who began to waver in their principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government, which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking any share in the present troubles. Certain it is, this gentleman, by his industry and address, prevented the insurrection of ten thousand Highlanders, who would otherwise have joined the Pretender; and, therefore, he may be said to have been one great cause of that Adventurer's miscarriage. The Earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had

taken

taken arms in behalf of his Majesty; and, by his vigilance, over-awed the disaffected Chieftains of that country, who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion. Immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops * arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders, for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the North, under the command of General Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The Parliament meeting on the sixteenth day of October, his Majesty gave them to understand, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance. He found both Houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government. The commons forthwith suspended the Habeas Corpus act; and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. Immediately after the session was opened, the Duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The train-bands of London were reviewed by his Majesty: the county regiments were completed; the volunteers, in different parts of the kingdom, employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader. The government, being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed Admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogn; and his

* They were composed of the forces who had been in garrison at Tournay and Dendermonde when those places were taken, and engaged by capitulation, that they should not perform any military function before the first day of January in the year 1747; so they could not have acted in England without the infringement of a solemn treaty.

BOOK II. 1745. cruisers took several ships laden with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the Pretender in Scotland.

§ XXXII. This enterprising youth, having collected about five thousand men, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the West Border on the sixth day of November. Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered: the keys were delivered to him at Brampton, by the Mayor and Aldermen on their knees. Here he found a considerable quantity of arms: his father was proclaimed King of Great-Britain, and himself Regent, by the Magistrates, in their formalities. General Wade being apprised of his progress, decamped from Newcastle, and advanced across the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. There he received intelligence that Carlisle was reduced, and forthwith returned to his former station. In the mean time, orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Ligonier. Prince Charles, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, determined to proceed. He had received assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of Britain, to make a diversion in his favour; and he never doubted but that he should be joined by all the English malcontents, as soon as he could penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. Leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the Highland garb, at the head of his forces; and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where, on the twenty-ninth day of the month, he established his head quarters. There he was joined by about two hundred Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of Colonel Townley. The inhabitants seemed to receive him with marks of affection; and

his

his arrival was celebrated by illuminations, and other publick rejoicings. His ſuppoſed intention was to proſecute his march by the way of Cheſter into Wales, where he hoped to find a great number of adherents; but all the bridges over the river Merſey being broken down, he choſe the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his diviſion, though the water roſe to his middle. He paſſed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and on the fourth day of December entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and his father proclaimed with great formality. He had now advanced within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confuſion. Wade lingered in Yorkſhire: the Duke of Cumberland had aſſumed the command of the other army aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Lichfield. He had marched from Stafford to Stone; ſo that the rebels, in turning off from Aſhborne to Derby, had gained a march between him and London. Had Charles proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto uſed, he might have made himſelf maſter of the metropolis, where he would have been certainly joined by a conſiderable number of his well-wiſhers, who waited impatiently for his approach: yet this exploit could not have been achieved without hazarding an engagement, and running the riſque of being encloſed within three armies, each greatly ſuperior to his own in number and artillery. Orders were given for forming a camp on Finchley-common, where the King reſolved to take the field in perſon, accompanied by the Earl of Stair, Field-mareſchal and Commander in Chief of the forces in South-Britain. Some Romiſh Prieſts were apprehended: the militia of London and Middleſex were kept in readineſs to march: double watches were poſted at the city-gates, and ſignals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment: the practitioners of the law,

headed

BOOK II. 1745. headed by the Judges, weavers of Spital-Fields, and other communities, engaged in aſſociations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raiſe a body of their dependents for the ſervice of the government. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and thoſe concerned in the money-corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. They repoſed very little confidence in the courage or diſcipline of their militia and volunteers: they had received intelligence that the French were employed in making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a deſcent upon England: they dreaded an inſurrection of the Roman Catholicks, and other friends of the Houſe of Stuart; and they reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a moſt terrible idea, were within four days' march of the capital. Alarmed by theſe conſiderations, they prognoſticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution; and their countenances exhibited the plaineſt marks of horror and deſpair. On the other hand, the Jacobites were elevated to an inſolence of hope, which they were at no pains to conceal; while many people, who had no private property to loſe, and thought no change would be for the worſe, waited the iſſue of this criſis with the moſt calm indifference.

§ XXXIII. This ſtate of ſuſpence was of ſhort duration. The young Pretender found himſelf miſerably diſappointed in his expectations. He had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and except a few that joined him at Mancheſter, not a ſoul appeared in his behalf; one would have imagined that all the Jacobites of England had been annihilated. The Welch took no ſtep to excite an inſurrection in his favour: the French made no attempt towards an invaſion: his Court was divided into factions: the Highland Chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly: he ſaw himſelf

with a handful of men hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself and all his adherents; and he had received information that his friends and officers had assembled a body of forces in the North, superior in number to those by whom he was attended. He called a council at Derby; and proposed to advance towards London: the proposal was supported by Lord Nairn with great vehemence; but, after violent disputes, the majority determined that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition. Accordingly, they abandoned Derby on the sixth day of December, early in the morning, and measured back the route by which they had advanced. On the ninth their vanguard arrived at Manchester: on the twelfth they entered Preston, and continued their march northwards. The Duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprised of their retreat, detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them; while General Wade began his march from Ferrybridge in Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route: but at Wakefield he understood that they had already reached Wigan: he, therefore, repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached General Oglethorpe, with his horse and dragoons, to join those who had been sent off from the Duke's army. They pursued with such alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished, in Lancashire. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed by the Duke's order, to harass them in their march. The bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheless, they retreated regularly with their small train of artillery. They were overtaken

BOOK II. 1745. taken at the village of Clifton, in the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. These alighted, and lined the hedges, in order to harass part of the enemy's rear-guard, commanded by Lord John Murray; who, at the head of the Macphersons, attacked the dragoons sword in hand, and repulsed them with some loss. On the nineteenth day of the month, the Highland army reached Carlisle, where the majority of the English in the service of the Pretender were left, at their own desire. Charles, having reinforced the garrison of the place, crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, having thus accomplished one of the most surprising retreats that ever was performed. But the most remarkable circumstance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. Notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger, and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, and lost a very few stragglers; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. The Duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the twenty-first day of December, and on the thirtieth the garrison surrendered on a sort of capitulation made with the Duke of Richmond. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were imprisoned in different gaols in England, and the Duke returned to London.

§ XXXIV. The Pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose service it had raised a regiment of nine hundred men under the command of the Earl of Home. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards

Stirling,

Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence by Lords Lewis, Gordon, and John Drummond, brothers to the Dukes of Gordon and Perth. This last nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a small reinforcement of French and Irish, and a commission as General of these auxiliaries. He fixed his head-quarters at Perth, where he was reinforced by the Earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and he was accommodated with a small train of artillery. They had found means to surprize a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They took possession of Dundee, Dumblaine, Downcastle, and laid Fife under contribution. The Earl of Loudon remained at Inverness, with about two thousand Highlanders in the service of his Majesty. He conveyed provisions to Fort-Augustus and Fort-William: he secured the person of Lord Lovat, who still temporised, and at length this cunning veteran accomplished his escape. The Laird of Macleod, and Mr. Monro of Culcairn, being detached from Inverness towards Aberdeenshire, were surprized and routed by Lord Lewis Gordon at Inverary; and that interest seemed to preponderate in the north of Scotland. Prince Charles being joined by Lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which General Blakeney commanded: but, his people were so little used to enterprizes of this kind, that they made very little progress in their operations.

§ XXXV. By this time, a considerable body of forces was assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of General Hawley, who determined to relieve Stirling-castle, and advanced to Linlithgow on the thirteenth day of January: next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels were cantoned

BOOK II. 1745. toned about Bannockburn. On the ſeventeenth day of the month, they began their march in two columns to attack the King's forces, and had forded the water of Carven, within three miles of Hawley's camp, before he diſcovered their intention. Such was his obſtinacy, ſelf-conceit, or contempt of the enemy, that he ſlighted the repeated intelligence he had received of their motions and deſign, firmly believing they durſt not hazard an engagement. At length, perceiving they had occupied the riſing ground to the ſouthward of Falkirk, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and drive them from the eminence; while his infantry formed, and were drawn up in order of battle. The Highlanders kept up their fire, and took aim ſo well, that the aſſailants were broke by the firſt volley: they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongſt the infantry, which were likewiſe diſcompoſed by the wind and rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and diſturbing their eye-ſight. Some of the dragoons rallied, and advanced again to the charge, with part of the infantry which had not been engaged: then the Pretender marched up at the head of his corps de reſerve, conſiſting of the regiment of Lord John Drummond, and the Iriſh piquets. Theſe reinforcing the Camerons and the Stuarts in the front line, immediately obliged the dragoons to give way a ſecond time; and they again diſordered the foot in their retreat. They ſet fire to their camp, and abandoned Falkirk with their baggage and train, which laſt had never reached the field of battle. The rebels followed their firſt blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular diſcharge, turned their backs and fled in the utmoſt conſternation. In all probability few or none of them would have eſcaped, had not General Huſke, and Brigadier Cholmondeley, rallied part of ſome regiments, and made a gallant ſtand, which favoured the retreat of the reſt to Falkirk, from whence they retired

retired in confufion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels: but the lofs of men did not exceed three hundred, including Sir Robert Monro, Colonel Whitney, and fome other officers of diftinction. It was at this period, that the officers who had been taken at the battle of Prefton-pans, and conveyed to Angus and Fife, finding themfelves unguarded, broke their parole, and returned to Edinburgh, on pretence of their having been forcibly releafed by the inhabitants of thofe parts*.

§ XXXVI. General Hawley, who had boafted that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of cenfure for the difpofition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; but he found means to vindicate himfelf to the fatisfaction of his Sovereign. Neverthelefs, it was judged neceffary that the army in Scotland fhould be commanded by a General in whom the foldiers might have fome confidence; and the Duke of Cumberland was chofen for this purpofe. Over and above his being beloved by the army, it was fuggefted, that the appearance of a Prince of the Blood in Scotland might have a favourable effect upon the minds of people in that kingdom: he, therefore, began to prepare for his northern expedition. Meanwhile, the French Minifter at the Hague having reprefented to the States-General, that the auxiliaries which they had fent into Great-Britain were part of the garrifons of Tournay and Dendermonde, and reftricted by the capitulation from bearing arms againft France for a certain term, the States thought proper to recal them, rather than come to an open rupture with his Moft Chriftian Majefty. In the room of thofe troops fix thoufand Heffians were

* Sir Peter Halket, Captain Lucy Scott, Lieutenants Farquharfon and Cumming, with a few other gentlemen, adhered punctually to their parole, and their conduct was approved by his Majefty.

tranf-

BOOK II. 1745. transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their Prince, Frederick of Hesse, son-in-law to his Britannick Majesty. By this time the Duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and twelve hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of Colonel Campbell. On the last An. 1746. day of January, his Royal Highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy who had renewed the siege of Stirling-castle, not only abandoned that enterprize, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation. Their Prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted. He hoped to be reinforced in the Highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain: he, therefore, retired by Badenoch towards Inverness, which the Earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him almost without opposition, and here he fixed his head-quarters. His next exploit was the siege of Fort-Augustus, which he in a little time reduced. The Duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth, with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the Laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

§ XXXVII. While he remained in this place, refreshing his troops, and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels surprized a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyleshire Highlanders, at Keith, who were either killed or taken. Several advanced parties of that militia met with the same fate in different places. Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire. The Prince-

Pretender

Pretender ordered all his forces to assemble, in order to begin their march for Aberdeen, to attack the Duke of Cumberland, but, in consequence of a remonstrance from the clans, who declined leaving their families at the mercy of the King's garrison in Fort-William, he resolved previously to reduce that fortress, the siege of which was undertaken by Brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French service: but the place was so vigorously maintained by Captain Scot, that in the beginning of April they thought proper to relinquish the enterprize. The Earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken post at Dornoch, where his quarters were beat up by a strong detachment of the rebels, commanded by the Duke of Perth: a Major and sixty men were taken prisoners; and the Earl was obliged to take shelter in the Isle of Skye. These little checks were counterbalanced by some advantages which his Majesty's arms obtained. The sloop of war which the rebels had surprised at Montrose was re-taken in Sutherland, with a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the use of the Pretender. In the same county, the Earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuscade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewise defeated a body of the rebels at Goldspie. This action happened on the very day which has been rendered famous by the victory obtained at Culloden.

CHAP. VIII. 1746.

CHAP. IX.

§ I. *The rebels are totally defeated at Culloden.* § II. *The Duke of Cumberland takes possession of Inverness, and afterwards encamps at Fort-Augustus.* § III. *The Prince-Pretender escapes to France.* § IV. *Convulsion in the ministry.* § V. *Liberality of the Commons.* § VI. *Trial of the rebels. Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Lovat, and Mr. Ratcliff, are beheaded on Tower-hill.* § VII. *The States-General alarmed at the progress of the French in the Netherlands.* § VIII. *Count Saxe subdues all Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.* § IX. *Reduces the strong fortress of Namur, and defeats the allied army at Raucoux.* § X. *The French and Spaniards are compelled to abandon Piedmont and the Milanese.* § XI. *Don Philip is worsted at Codogno, and afterwards at Porto Freddo.* § XII. *The Austrians take possession of Genoa. Count Brown penetrates into Provence.* § XIII. *The Genoese expel the Austrians from their city.* § XIV. *Madras in the East-Indies taken by the French.* § XV. *Expedition to the coast of Bretagne, and attempt upon Port L'Orient.* § XVI. *Naval transactions in the West-Indies. Conferences at Breda.* § XVII. *Vast supplies granted by the Commons of England.* § XVIII. *Parliament dissolved.* § XIX. *The French and allies take the field in Flanders.* § XX. *Prince of Orange elected Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the United Provinces.* § XXI. *The Confederates defeated at Laffeldt.* § XXII. *Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.* § XXIII. *The Austrians undertake the siege of Geno, which, however, they abandon.* § XXIV. *The Chevalier de Belleisle slain in the attack of Exilles.* § XXV. *A French squadron defeated and taken by the Admirals Anson and Warren.* § XXVI. *Admiral Hawke obtains another victory over the French at sea.* § XXVII. *Other naval transactions.*

§ XXVIII.

§ XXVIII. *Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle.* § XXIX. *Compliant temper of the new Parliament. Preliminaries signed.* § XXX. *Preparations for the campaign in the Netherlands.* § XXXI. *Siege of Maestricht. Cessation of arms.* § XXXII. *Transactions in the East and West-Indies.* § XXXIII. *Conclusion of the definitve treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.*

§ I. IN the beginning of April, the Duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen, and on the twelfth passed the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a detachment of them appeared on the opposite side. Why they did not dispute the passage is not easy to be conceived: but, indeed, from this instance of neglect, and their subsequent conduct, we may conclude they were under a total infatuation. His Royal Highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the Royal army, with intention to give him battle. The design of Charles was to march in the night from Culloden and surprize the Duke's army at day-break: for this purpose the English camp had been reconnoitred; and on the night of the fifteenth the Highland army began to march in two columns. Their design was to surround the enemy, and attack them at once on all quarters: but the length of the columns embarrassed the march, so that the army was obliged to make many halts: the men had been under arms during the whole preceding night, were faint with hunger and fatigue, and many of them overpowered with sleep. Some were unable to proceed; others dropped off unperceived in the dark; and the march was retarded in such a manner, that it would have been impossible to reach the Duke's camp before sun-rise. The design being thus frustrated, the Prince-Pretender was with great reluctance prevailed upon

CHAP. IX.

1746.

BOOK II. 1746.

upon by his general officers to meaſure back his way to Culloden; at which place he had no ſooner arrived, than great numbers of his followers diſperſed in queſt of proviſion; and many, overcome with wearineſs and ſleep, threw themſelves down on the heath, and along the park walls. Their repoſe, however, was ſoon interrupted in a very diſagreeable manner. Their Prince receiving intelligence that his enemies were in full march to attack him, reſolved to hazard an engagement, and ordered his troops to be formed for that purpoſe. On the ſixteenth day of April, the Duke of Cumberland having made the proper diſpoſitions, decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and after a march of nine miles perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of four thouſand men, in thirteen diviſions, ſupplied with ſome pieces of artillery. The Royal army, which was much more numerous, the Duke immediately formed into three lines, diſpoſed in excellent order: and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill ſerved, and did very little execution; but that of the King's troops made dreadful havock among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, their front-line advanced to the attack, and about five hundred of the clans charged the Duke's left wing with their uſual impetuoſity. One regiment was diſordered by the weight of this column; but two battalions advancing from the ſecond line, ſuſtained the firſt, and ſoon put a ſtop to their career, by a ſevere fire, that killed a great number. At the ſame time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleſhire militia pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank, and the cavalry falling in among the rebels ſword in hand, completed their confuſion. The French picquets on their left, covered the retreat of the Highlanders by a cloſe and regular fire: and then retired to Inverneſs, where they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

war. An entire body of the rebels marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing, and the Pretender's ſtandard diſplayed; the reſt were routed with great ſlaughter; and their Prince was with reluctance prevailed upon to retire. In leſs than thirty minutes they were totally defeated, and the field covered with the ſlain. The road, as far as Inverneſs, was ſtrewed with dead bodies; and a great number of people, who, from motives of curioſity, had come to ſee the battle, were ſacrificed to the undiſtinguiſhed vengeance of the victors. Twelve hundred rebels were ſlain or wounded on the field, and in the purſuit. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and in a few days Lord Balmerino ſurrendered to a country gentleman, at whoſe houſe he preſented himſelf for this purpoſe. The glory of the victory was ſullied by the barbarity of the ſoldiers. They had been provoked by their former diſgraces to the moſt ſavage thirſt of revenge. Not contented with the blood which was ſo profuſely ſhed in the heat of action, they traverſed the field after the battle, and maſſacred thoſe miſerable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: nay, ſome officers acted a part in this cruel ſcene of aſſaſſination, the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninſpired by ſentiment, untinctured by humanity. The vanquiſhed Adventurer rode off the field, accompanied by the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, and a few horſemen; he croſſed the water of Nairn, and retired to the houſe of a gentleman in Struttharick, where he conferred with old Lord Lovat; then he diſmiſſed his followers, and wandered about, a wretched and ſolitary fugitive, among the iſles and mountains for the ſpace of five months, during which he underwent ſuch a ſeries of dangers, hardſhips, and miſery, as no other perſon ever out-lived. Thus, in one ſhort hour, all his hope vaniſhed, and the rebellion was entirely extinguiſhed. One would almoſt imagine, the conductors of this deſperate enterprize had conſpired

 their

BOOK II. 1746. their own deſtruction, as they certainly neglected every ſtep that might have contributed to their ſafety or ſucceſs. They might have oppoſed the Duke of Cumberland at the paſſage of the Spey; they might, by proper conduct, have afterwards attacked his camp in the night, with a good proſpect of ſucceſs. As they were greatly inferior to him in number, and weakened with hunger and fatigue, they might have retired to the hills and faſtneſſes, where they would have found plenty of live cattle for proviſion, recruited their regiments, and been joined by a ſtrong reinforcement, which was actually in full march to their aſſiſtance. But they were diſtracted by diſſenſions and jealouſies: they obeyed the dictates of deſpair, and wilfully devoted themſelves to ruin and death. When the news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was tranſported with joy, and extolled the Duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both Houſes of Parliament congratulated his Majeſty on the auſpicious event. They decreed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, their publick thanks to his Royal Highneſs, which were tranſmitted to him by the Speakers; and the Commons, by bill, added five-and-twenty thouſand pounds per annum to his former revenue.

§ II. Immediately after the deciſive action at Culloden, the Duke took poſſeſſion of Inverneſs, where ſix-and-thirty deſerters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed: then he detached ſeveral parties to ravage the country. One of theſe apprehended the Lady Mackintoſh, who was ſent priſoner to Inverneſs. They did not plunder her houſe, but drove away her cattle, though her huſband was actually in the ſervice of government. The caſtle of Lord Lovat was deſtroyed. The French priſoners were ſent to Carliſle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his ſon the Lord Macleod, were conveyed by ſea to London; and thoſe of an inferior rank were confined

in

in different prisons. The Marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the Earl of Dunmore, were seized, and transported to the Tower of London, to which the Earl of Traquire had been committed on suspicion: in a few months after the battle of Culloden, Murray, the Pretender's Secretary, was apprehended; and the eldest son of Lord Lovat, having surrendered himself, was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. In a word, all the gaols of Great-Britain, from the capital Northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crouded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner, for want of necessaries, air, and exercise. Some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates, which had arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannick Majesty which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ship on the coast of Buchan, and were conveyed to Norway; from thence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May, the Duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort-Augustus, where he encamped, and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned: every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction: all the cattle and provision were carried off: the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial: the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was enclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither

CHAP. IX.

1746.

BOOK II. 1746.

neither houſe, cottage, man, nor beaſt, to be ſeen in the compaſs of fifty miles: all was ruin, ſilence, and deſolation.

§ III. The humane reader cannot reflect upon ſuch a ſcene without grief and horror: what then muſt have been the ſenſation of the fugitive Prince, when he beheld theſe ſpectacles of woe, the diſmal fruit of his ambition? He was now ſurrounded by armed troops, that chaſed him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from ſhore to ſhore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other ſupport but that which the pooreſt peaſant could ſupply. Sometimes he was rowed in fiſher-boats from iſle to iſle, among the Hebrides, and often in ſight of his purſuers. For ſome days he appeared in woman's attire, and even paſſed through the midſt of his enemies unknown. But, underſtanding his diſguiſe was diſcovered, he aſſumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and ſqualid looks, expoſed to hunger, thirſt, and wearineſs, and in continual danger of being apprehended. He was obliged to truſt his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of theſe were in the loweſt paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thouſand pounds was ſet upon his head; and that, by betraying him, they ſhould enjoy wealth and affluence: but they deteſted the thought of obtaining riches on ſuch infamous terms, and miniſtered to his neceſſities, with the utmoſt zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own deſtruction. In the courſe of theſe peregrinations, he was more than once hemmed in by his purſuers, in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to preclude all poſſibility of eſcaping: yet he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection: he ſtill found ſome expedient that ſaved him from captivity and death; and through the whole courſe of his diſtreſſes maintained the moſt amazing equanimity and good

good humour. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by the young Sheridan and ſome other Iriſh adherents, arrived in Lochnannach; and on the twentieth day of September, this unfortunate Prince embarked in the habit which he wore for diſguiſe. His eye was hollow, his viſage wan, and his conſtitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, with a few other exiles. They ſet ſail for France, and after having paſſed unſeen, by means of a thick fog, through a Britiſh ſquadron commanded by Admiral Leſtock, and been chaſed by two Engliſh ſhips of war, arrived in ſafety at Roſcau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it ſtill more difficult to eſcape, had not the vigilance and eagerneſs of the government been relaxed, in conſequence of a report, that he had already fallen among ſome perſons that were ſlain by a volley from one of the Duke's detachments.

§ IV. Having thus explained the riſe, progreſs, and extinction of the rebellion, it will be neceſſary to take a retroſpective view of the proceedings in Parliament. The neceſſary ſteps being taken for quieting the inteſtine commotions of the kingdom, the two Houſes began to convert their attention to the affairs of the continent. On the fourteenth day of January, the King repaired to the Houſe of Peers, and in a ſpeech from the throne gave his Parliament to underſtand, that the States-General had made preſſing inſtances for his aſſiſtance in the preſent conjuncture, when they were in ſuch danger of being oppreſſed by the power of France in the Netherlands; that he had promiſed to co-operate with them towards oppoſing the further progreſs of their enemies; and even concerted meaſures for that purpoſe. He declared it was with regret that he aſked any further aids of his people: he exhorted them to watch over the publick credit; and expreſſed his entire dependence on their zeal and unanimity. He was

BOOK II. 1746. was favoured with loyal addresses, couched in the warmest terms of duty and affection: but the supplies were retarded by new convulsions in the ministry. The Earl of Granville had made an effort to retrieve his influence in the cabinet, and his Sovereign favoured his pretensions. The two brothers, who knew his aspiring genius, and dreaded his superior talents, refused to admit such a colleague into the administration: they even resolv'ed to strengthen their party, by introducing fresh auxiliaries into the office of State. Some of these were personally disagreeable to his Majesty, who accordingly rejected the suit by which they were recommended. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother, with all their adherents, immediately resigned their employments. The Earl of Granville was appointed Secretary of State, and resumed the reins of administration: but, finding himself unequal to the accumulated opposition that preponderated against him; foreseeing that he should not be able to secure the supplies in Parliament; and dreading the consequences of that confusion which his restoration had already produced, he, in three days, voluntarily quitted the helm; and his Majesty acquiesced in the measures proposed by the opposite party. The seals were re-delivered to the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Harrington: Mr. Pelham, and all the rest who had resigned, were reinstated in their respective employments; and offices were conferred on several individuals who had never before been in the service of the government. William Pitt, Esq. was appointed Vice Treasurer of Ireland, and soon promoted to the place of Paymaster-General of the forces; at the same time the King declared him a Privy-counsellor. This gentleman had been originally designed for the army, in which he actually bore a commission; but fate reserved him a more important station. In point of fortune he was barely qualified to be elected member of Parliament, when

when he obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, where he ſoon outſhone all his compatriots. He diſplayed a ſurpriſing extent and preciſion of political knowledge, an irreſiſtible energy of argument, and ſuch power of elocution, as ſtruck his hearers with aſtoniſhment and admiration. It flaſhed like the lightening of heaven againſt the miniſters and ſons of corruption, blaſting where it ſmote, and withering the nerves of oppoſition: but his more ſubſtantial praiſe was founded upon his diſintereſted integrity, his incorruptible heart, his unconquerable ſpirit of independence, and his invariable attachment to the intereſt and liberty of his country. CHAP. IX. 1746.

§ V. The quiet of the miniſtry being re-eſtabliſhed, the Houſe of Commons provided for forty thouſand ſeamen, nearly the ſame number of land-forces, beſides fifteen regiments raiſed by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about twelve thouſand marines. They ſettled funds for the maintenance of the Dutch and Heſſian troops that were in England, as well as for the ſubſidy to the Landgrave. They granted three hundred thouſand pounds to the King of Sardinia: four hundred thouſand pounds to the Queen of Hungary; three hundred and ten thouſand pounds to defray the expence of eighteen thouſand Hanoverians; about three-and-thirty thouſand pounds in ſubſidies to the Electors of Mentz and Cologn; and five hundred thouſand pounds in a vote of credit and confidence to his Majeſty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to ſeven millions two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which was raiſed by the land and malt-taxes, annuities on the additional duties impoſed on glaſs, and ſpirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the ſinking-fund, and Exchequer bills, chargeable on the firſt aids that ſhould be granted in the next ſeſſion of Parliament.

§ VI. The rebellion being quelled, the legiſlature reſolved to make examples of thoſe who had been concerned

BOOK II. 1746.

concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. In June, an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had embarked in that desperate undertaking; and courts were opened in different parts of England, for the trial of the prisoners. Seventeen persons who had borne arms in the rebel army were executed at Kennington-Common, in the neighbourhood of London, and suffered with great constancy under the dreadful tortures which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death, in the same manner, at Carlisle; six at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, eleven at York: of these a considerable number were gentlemen, and had acted as officers; about fifty had been executed as deserters in different parts of Scotland: eighty-one suffered the pains of the law as traitors. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations. Bills of indictment for high-treason were found by the county of Surry against the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and Lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, the Lord Chancellor presiding as Lord High-Steward for the occasion. The two Earls confessed their crimes, and in pathetick speeches recommended themselves to his Majesty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty: he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, but this exception was over-ruled: then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his counsel. They might have expatiated on the hardship of being tried by an *ex post facto* law, and claimed the privilege of trial in the county where the act of treason was said to have been committed. The same hardship was imposed upon all the imprisoned rebels: they were dragged in captivity to a strange country, far from their friends and connections, destitute of means to produce evidence in their favour, even if they had been innocent of the charge.

Balmerino

Balmerino waved this plea, and ſubmitted to the court, which pronounced ſentence of death upon him and his two aſſociates. Cromartie's life was ſpared; but the other two were beheaded, in the month of Auguſt, on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine perſonal accompliſhments; he had been educated in Revolution principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the deſperate ſituation of his fortune, and partly from reſentment to the government, on his being deprived of a penſion which he had for ſome time enjoyed. He was convinced of his having acted criminally, and died with marks of penitence and contrition. Balmerino had been bred up to arms, and acted upon principle: he was gallant, brave, rough, and reſolute; he eyed the implements of death with the moſt careleſs familiarity, and ſeemed to triumph in his ſufferings. In November, Mr. Ratcliffe, the titular Earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ſhip bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former ſentence, paſſed againſt him in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen: he refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a ſubject of France, honoured with a commiſſion in the ſervice of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. The identity of his perſon being proved, a rule was made for his execution: and on the eighth day of December he ſuffered decapitation, with the moſt perfect compoſure and ſerenity. Lord Lovat, now turned of fourſcore, was impeached by the Commons, and tried in Weſtminſter-hall before the Lord High-Steward. John Murray, Secretary to the Prince-Pretender, and ſome of his own domeſticks appearing againſt him, he was convicted of high-treaſon, and condemned. Notwithſtanding his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conſcience, which was ſuppoſed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, exclaiming, "*dulce et decorum eſt pro patria mori.*" He ſurveyed the crowd with

BOOK II. 1746. with attention, examined the ax, jested with the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life one would have concluded, that he had approved himself a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue.

§ VII. The flame of war on the continent did not expire at the election of an Emperor, and the re-establishment of peace among the princes of the empire. On the contrary, it raged with double violence in consequence of these events; for the force that was before divided being now united in one body, exerted itself with great vigour and rapidity. The States-General were overwhelmed with consternation. Notwithstanding the pains they had taken to avoid a war, and the condescension with which they had soothed and supplicated the French Monarch in repeated embassies and memorials, they saw themselves stripped of their barrier, and once more in danger of being overwhelmed by that ambitious nation. The city of Brussels had been reduced during the winter; so that the enemy were in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, except a few fortresses. Great part of the forces belonging to the Republick were restricted from action by capitulations, to which they had subscribed. The States were divided in their councils between the two factions which had long subsisted. They trembled at the prospect of seeing Zealand invaded in the spring. The Orange party loudly called for an augmentation of their forces by sea and land, that they might prosecute the war with vigour. The common people fond of novelty, dazzled by the splendor of greatness, and fully persuaded that nothing but a chief was wanting to their security, demanded the Prince of Orange as a Stadtholder; and even mingled menaces with their demands. The opposite faction dreaded alike the power of a Stadtholder; the neighbourhood of a French army, and the seditious disposition

position of the populace. An Ambassador was sent to London with representations of the imminent dangers which threatened the republick, and he was ordered to solicit in the most pressing terms the assistance of his Britannick Majesty, that the Allies might have a superiority in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign. The King was very well disposed to comply with their request; but the rebellion in his kingdom, and the dissensions in his cabinet, had retarded the supplies, and embarrassed him so much, that he found it impossible to make those early preparations that were necessary to check the career of the enemy.

§ VIII. The King of France, with his General, the Count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and advanced towards the Allies, who, to the number of four-and-forty thousand, were entrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Austrian General Bathiani, who retired before them, and took post in the neighbourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant. Mareschal Saxe immediately invested Antwerp, which in a few days was surrendered. Then he appeared before the strong town of Mons in Hainault, with an irresistible train of artillery, an immense quantity of bombs and warlike implements. He carried on his approaches with such unabating impetuosity, that, notwithstanding a very vigorous defence, the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the twenty-seventh day of June, in about eight-and-twenty days after the place had been invested. Sieges were not now carried on by the tedious method of sapping. The French King found it much more expeditious and effectual to bring into the field a prodigious train of battering cannon, and enormous mortars, that kept up such a fire as no garrison could sustain, and discharged such an incessant hail of bombs and bullets, as in a very little time reduced to ruins the place,

2 with

BOOK II. 1746. with all its fortifications. St. Guiſlain and Charleroy met with the fate of Mons and Antwerp; ſo that by the middle of July the French King was abſolute maſter of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

§ IX. Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this time, aſſumed the command of the confederate army at Terheyde, which being reinforced by the Heſſian troops from Scotland, and a freſh body of Auſtrians under Count Palfi, amounted to eighty-ſeven thouſand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the Prince of Waldeck. The Generals, ſuppoſing the next ſtorm would fall upon Namur, marched towards that place, and took poſt in an advantageous ſituation on the eighteenth day of July, in ſight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained till the eighth day of Auguſt, when a detachment of the enemy, commanded by Count Lowendahl, took poſſeſſion of Huy, where he found a large magazine belonging to the Confederates; and their communication with Maeſtricht was cut off, Mareſchal Saxe, on the other ſide, took his meaſures ſo well, that they were utterly deprived of all ſubſiſtence. Then Prince Charles, retiring acroſs the Maeſe, abandoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately inveſted. The trenches were opened on the ſecond day of September; and the garriſon, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand Auſtrians, defended themſelves with equal ſkill and reſolution: but the cannonading and bombardment were ſo terrible, that in a few days the place was converted into a heap of rubbiſh; and on the twenty-third day of the month the French Monarch took poſſeſſion of this ſtrong fortreſs, which had formerly ſuſtained ſuch dreadful attacks. Meanwhile the allied army encamped at Maeſtricht were joined by Sir John Ligonier, with ſome Britiſh and Bavarian battalions; and Prince Charles reſolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he paſſed the Maeſe

on the thirteenth day of September, and advanced towards Mareschal Saxe, whom he found so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march back to Maestricht. On the twenty-sixth day of September he crossed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed. But Count Saxe being reinforced by a body of troops, under the Count de Clermont, determined to bring the Confederates to an engagement. On the thirteenth day of the month he passed the Jaar; while he took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception. On the first day of October the enemy advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonading began about noon. At two o'clock Prince Waldeck on the left was charged with great fury; and after an obstinate defence overpowered by numbers. The villages were attacked in columns, and as one brigade was repulsed another succeeded; so that the Allies were obliged to abandon these posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. The victory, however, cost the French General a much greater number of lives; and was attended with no solid advantage. Sir John Ligonier, the Earls of Crawford* and Rothes, Brigadier Douglas,

* This nobleman, so remarkable for his courage and thirst of glory, exhibited a very extraordinary instance of presence of mind on the morning that preceded this battle. He and some volunteers, accompanied by his aide du camp, and attended by two orderly dragoons, had rode out before day to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy; and fell in upon one of their advanced guards. The serjeant who commanded it immediately turned out his men, and their pieces were presented when the Earl first perceived them. Without betraying the least mark of disorder, he rode up to the serjeant, and assuming the character of a French General, told him in that language, that there was no occasion for such ceremony. Then he asked, if they had perceived any of the enemy's parties? and being answered in the negative, "Very well (said he) be upon your guard; and if "you should be attacked, I will take care that you shall be sus"tained." So saying, he and his company retired, before the serjeant

BOOK II. 1746. Douglas, and other officers of the British troops, distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct on this occasion. This action terminated the campaign. The Allies passing the Maese, took up their winter-quarters in the duchies of Limburgh and Luxembourg; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

§ X. The campaign in Italy was altogether unfavourable to the French and Spaniards. The house of Austria being no longer pressed on the side of Germany, was enabled to make the stronger efforts in this country; and the British subsidy encouraged the King of Sardinia to act with redoubled vivacity. Mareschal Maillebois occupied the greater part of Piedmont with about thirty thousand men. Don Philip and the Count de Gages were at the head of a greater number in the neighbourhood of Milan; and the Duke of Modena, with eight thousand, secured his own dominions. The King of Sardinia augmented his forces to six-and-thirty thousand; and the Austrian army, under the Prince of Lichtenstein, amounted to a much greater number; so that the enemy were reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, and retired towards the Mantuan. In February, Baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese General, invested and took the strong fortress of Aste. He afterwards relieved the citadel of Alexandria, which the Spaniards had blocked up in the winter, reduced Casal, recovered Valencia, and obliged Maillebois to retire to the neighbourhood of

jeant could recollect himself from the surprise occasioned by this unexpected address. In all probability he was soon sensible of his mistake; for the incident was that very day publickly mentioned in the French army. The Prince of Tingray, an officer in the Austrian service, having been taken prisoner in the battle that ensued, dined with Mareschal Count Saxe, who dismissed him on his parole, and desired he would charge himself with a facetious compliment to his old friend, the Earl of Crawford. He wished his Lordship joy of being a French General, and said he could not help being displeased with the serjeant, as he had not procured him the honour of his Lordship's company at dinner.

Genoa.

CHAP. IX. 1746.

Genoa. On the other side, Don Philip and Count Gages, abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma, retreating before the Austrians with the utmost precipitation to Placentia, where they were joined on the third of June by the French forces under Maillebois.

§ XI. Before this junction was effected, the Spanish General, Pignatelli, had passed the river Po in the night with a strong detachment, and beaten up the quarters of seven thousand Austrians posted at Codogno. Don Philip, finding himself at the head of two-and-fifty thousand men by his junction with the French General, resolved to attack the Austrians in their camp at San Lazaro, before they should be reinforced by his Sardinian Majesty. Accordingly, on the fourth day of June in the evening, he marched with equal silence and expedition, and entered the Austrian trenches about eleven, when a desperate battle ensued. The Austrians were prepared for the attack, which they sustained with great vigour till morning. Then they quitted their entrenchments, and charged the enemy in their turn with such fury, that after an obstinate resistance the combined army was broke, and retired with precipitation to Placentia, leaving on the field fifteen thousand men killed, wounded, and taken, together with sixty colours, and ten pieces of artillery. In a few weeks the Austrians were joined by the Piedmontese: the King of Sardinia assumed the chief command: and Prince Lichtenstein being indisposed, his place was supplied by the Marquis de Botta. Don Philip retired to the other side of the Po, and extended his conquests in the open country of the Milanese. The King of Sardinia called a council of war, in which it was determined that he should pass the river with a strong body of troops, in order to straiten the enemy on one side; while the Marquis de Botta should march up the Tydone, to cut off their communication with Placentia.

 They

BOOK II. 1746. They forthwith quitted all the posts they had occupied between the Lambro, and Adda, resolving to repass the Po, and retreat to Tortona. With this view they threw bridges of boats over that river, and began to pass on the ninth day of August in the evening. They were attacked at Rotto Freddo by a detachment of Austrians, under General Serbelloni, who maintained the engagement till ten in the morning, when Botta arrived: the battle was renewed with redoubled rage, and lasted till four in the afternoon, when the enemy retired in great disorder to Tortona, with the loss of eight thousand men, a good number of colours and standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. This victory cost the Austrians four thousand men killed upon the spot, including the gallant General Bernclau. The victors immediately summoned Placentia to surrender; and the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were made prisoners of war: Don Philip continued his retreat, and of all his forces brought six-and-twenty thousand only into the territories of Genoa.

§ XII. The Piedmontese and Austrians rejoining in the neighbourhood of Pavia, advanced to Tortona, of which they took possession without resistance, while the enemy sheltered themselves under the cannon of Genoa. They did not long continue in this situation: for on the twenty-second day of August they were again in motion, and retired into Provence. The Court of Madrid imputing the bad success of this campaign to the misconduct of Count Gages, recalled that General, and sent the Marquis de las Minas to resume the command of the forces. In the mean time, the victorious Confederates appeared before Genoa on the fourth day of December: and the senate of that city thinking it incapable of defence, submitted to a very mortifying capitulation, by which the gates were delivered up to the Austrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition: and the city was sub-

jected to the most cruel contributions. The Marquis de Botta being left at Genoa with sixteen thousand men, the King of Sardinia resolved to pass the Var, and pursue the French and Spaniards into Provence: but, that Monarch being seized with the small-pox, the conduct of this expedition was entrusted to Count Brown, an Austrian General of Irish extract, who had given repeated proofs of uncommon valour and capacity. He was on this occasion assisted by Vice-Admiral Medley, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean. The French forces had fortified the passes of the Var, under the conduct of the Mareschal de Belleisle, who thought proper to abandon his posts at the approach of Count Brown; and this General, at the head of fifty thousand men, passed the river without opposition, on the ninth day of November. While he advanced as far as Draguignan, laying the open country under contribution, Baron Roth, with four-and-twenty battalions, invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded on the side of the sea by the British squadron. The trenches were opened on the twentieth day of September: but Belleisle having assembled a numerous army, superior to that of the Confederates, and the Genoese having expelled their Austrian guests, Count Brown abandoned the enterprise, and repassed the Var, not without some damage from the enemy.

§ XIII. The Court of Vienna, which has always patronised oppression, exacted such heavy contributions from the Genoese, and its directions were so rigorously put in execution, that the people were reduced to despair; and resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Accordingly, they took arms in secret, seized several important posts of the city; surprised some battalions of the Austrians; surrounded others, and cut them in pieces; and, in a word, drove them out with great slaughter. The

 Marquis

BOOK II. 1746. Marquis de Botta acted with caution and ſpirit; but being overpowered by numbers, and apprehenſive of the peaſants in the country, who were in arms, he retreated to the paſs of the Brochetta on the ſide of Lombardy, where he ſecured himſelf in an advantageous ſituation, until he could receive reinforcements. The loſs he had ſuſtained at Genoa did not hinder him from reducing Savona, a ſea-port town belonging to that Republick; and he afterwards made himſelf maſter of Gavi. The Genoeſe, on the contrary, exerted themſelves with wonderful induſtry in fortifying their city, raiſing troops, and in taking other meaſures for a vigorous defence, in caſe they ſhould again be inſulted.

§ XIV. The naval tranſactions of this year reflected very little honour on the Britiſh nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded ſix ſhips of war in the Eaſt-Indies, ſhamefully declined a deciſive engagement with a French ſquadron of inferior force; and abandoned the important ſettlement of Madras on the coaſt of Coromandel, which was taken without oppoſition in the month of September by the French Commodore, De la Bourdonnais. Fort St. David, and the other Britiſh factories in India, would probably have ſhared the ſame fate, had not the enemy's naval force in that country been ſhattered and partly deſtroyed by a terrible tempeſt. No event of conſequence happened in America, though it was a ſcene that ſeemed to promiſe the greateſt ſucceſs to the arms of England. The reduction of Cape-Breton had encouraged the miniſtry to project the conqueſt of Quebec, the capital of Canada, ſituated upon the river of St. Laurence. Commiſſions were ſent to the Governors of the Britiſh colonies in North-America, empowering them to raiſe companies to join the armament from England; and eight thouſand troops were actually raiſed in conſequence of theſe directions; while a powerful ſquadron and tranſports, having ſix regiments on board, were prepared at Portſmouth for

this expedition. But their departure was poſtponed CHAP. by unaccountable delays, until the ſeaſon was IX. judged too far advanced to riſque the great ſhips on the boiſterous coaſt of North-America. That the 1746. armament, however, might not be wholly uſeleſs to the nation, it was employed in making a deſcent upon the coaſt of Bretagne, on the ſuppoſition that Port L'Orient, the repoſitory of all the ſtores and ſhips belonging to the French Eaſt-India company, might be ſurpriſed; or, that this invaſion would alarm the enemy, and, by making a diverſion, facilitate the operations of the Auſtrian General in Provence.

§ XV. The naval force intended for this ſervice conſiſted of ſixteen great ſhips, and eight frigates, beſides bomb-ketches and ſtore-ſhips, commanded by Richard Leſtock, appointed Admiral of the blue diviſion. Six battalions of land troops, with a detachment of matroſſes and bombardiers, were embarked in thirty tranſports, under the conduct of Lieutenant-General Sinclair; and the whole fleet ſet ſail from Plymouth on the fourteenth day of September. On the twentieth the troops were landed in Quimperlay-bay, at the diſtance of ten miles from Port L'Orient. The militia, reinforced by ſome detachments from different regiments, were aſſembled to the number of two thouſand, and ſeemed reſolved to oppoſe the diſembarkation: but, ſeeing the Britiſh troops determined to land at all events, they thought proper to retire. Next day General Sinclair advanced into the country, ſkirmiſhing with the enemy in his route; and arriving at the village of Plemure, within half a league from Port L'Orient, ſummoned that place to ſurrender. He was viſited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the Britiſh forces, on condition that they ſhould be reſtrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines; and that they ſhould pay a juſt price for their proviſions.

BOOK II. 1746. These terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the English General resolved to besiege the place in form, though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces sufficient for such an enterprise. This strange resolution was owing to the declaration of the engineers, who promised to lay the place in ashes in the space of four-and-twenty hours. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. Had he given the assault on the first night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terror and confusion, and destitute of regular troops, in all probability it would have been easily taken by scalade: but the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbour: new works were raised with great industry; the garrison was reinforced by several bodies of regular troops; and great numbers were assembling from all parts; so that the British forces were in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country. Notwithstanding these discouragements, they opened a small battery against the town, which was set on fire in several places by their bombs and red-hot bullets: they likewise repulsed part of the garrison which had made a sally to destroy their works: but their cannon producing no effect upon the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increasing, the engineers owning they could not perform their promise, and Admiral Lestock declaring, in repeated messages, that he could no longer expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year, General Sinclair abandoned the siege. Having caused the two iron pieces of cannon and the mortars to be spiked, he retreated in good order to the sea-side, where his troops were re-embarked, having sustained very inconsiderable damage since their first landing. He expected reinforcements from England,

land, and was reſolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hopes of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually. In the beginning of October the fleet ſailed to Quiberon-Bay, where they deſtroyed the Ardent, a French ſhip of war of ſixty-four guns: and a detachment of the forces being landed, took poſſeſſion of a fort on the peninſula; while the little iſlands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the ſailors. In this ſituation the Admiral and General continued till the ſeventeenth day of the month, when the forts being diſmantled, and the troops re-embarked, the fleet ſailed from the French coaſt: the Admiral returned to England, and the tranſports with the ſoldiers proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in ſafety.

§ XVI. This expedition, weak and frivolous as it may ſeem, was reſented by the French Nation, as one of the greateſt inſults they had ever ſuſtained; and demonſtrated the poſſibility of hurting France in her tendereſt parts, by means of an armament of this nature, well timed, and vigorouſly conducted. Indeed, nothing could be more abſurd or precipitate than an attempt to diſtreſs the enemy by landing a handful of troops without draft-horſes, tents, or artillery, from a fleet of ſhips lying on an open beach, expoſed to the uncertainty of weather in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year, ſo as to render the retreat and re-embarkation altogether precarious. The Britiſh ſquadrons in the Weſt-Indies performed no exploit of conſequence in the courſe of this year. The commerce was but indifferently protected. Commodore Lee, ſtationed off Martinico, allowed a French fleet of merchant-ſhips, and their convoy, to paſs by his ſquadron unmoleſted; and Commodore Mitchel behaved ſcandalouſly in a rencontre with the French ſquadron, under the conduct of Monſieur de Conflans, who in his return to Europe took the Severn, an Engliſh ſhip of fifty guns. The cruiſers on all ſides, Engliſh, French, and Spaniards, were

BOOK II. 1746. were extremely alert; and though the English lost the greater number of ships, this difference was more than overbalanced by the superior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. In the course of this year two-and-twenty Spanish privateers, and sixty-six merchant vessels, including ten register ships, fell into the hands of the British cruisers: from the French they took seven ships of war, ninety privateers, and about three hundred ships of commerce. The new King of Spain* being supposed well-affected to the British nation, an effort was made to detach him from the interests of France, by means of the Marquis de Tabernega, who had formerly been his favourite, and resided many years as a refugee in England. This nobleman proceeded to Lisbon, where a negociation was set on foot with the Court of Madrid. But his efforts miscarried; and the influence of the Queen-mother continued to predominate in the Spanish councils. The States-General had for some years endeavoured to promote a pacification by remonstrances, and even entreaties, at the Court of Versailles: the French King at length discovered an inclination to peace, and in September a congress was opened at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, Great-Britain, France, and Holland, were assembled: but the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon interrupted.

§ XVII. The Parliament of Great-Britain meeting in November, the King exhorted them to concert with all possible expedition the proper measures for pursuing the war with vigour, that the confede-

* In the month of July, Philip King of Spain dying, in the sixty-third year of his age, was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinand, born of Maria-Louisa Gabriela, sister to the late King of Sardinia. He espoused Donna Maria Magdalena, Infanta of Portugal, but had no issue. Philip was but two days survived by his daughter, the Dauphiness of France. The same month was remarkable for the death of Christiern VI. King of Denmark, succeeded by his son Frederick V. who had married the Princess Louisa, youngest daughter to the King of Great-Britain.

rate army in the Netherlands might be ſeaſonably augmented: he, likewiſe, gave them to underſtand, that the funds appropriated for the ſupport of his civil government had for ſome years paſt fallen ſhort of the revenue intended and granted by Parliament; and ſaid he relied on their known affection to find out ſome method to make good this deficiency. As all thoſe who had conducted the oppoſition were now concerned in the adminiſtration, little or no objection was made to any demand or propoſal of the government and its miniſters. The Commons having conſidered the eſtimates, voted forty thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and about ſixty thouſand land-forces, including eleven thouſand five hundred marines. They granted four hundred and thirty-three thouſand pounds to the Empreſs Queen of Hungary; three hundred thouſand pounds to the King of Sardinia; four hundred and ten thouſand pounds for the maintenance of eighteen thouſand Hanoverian auxiliaries; one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds for ſix thouſand Heſſians; ſubſidies to the Electors of Cologn, Mentz, and Bavaria; and the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds to enable his Majeſty to proſecute the war with advantage. In a word, the ſupplies amounted to nine millions four hundred twenty-five thouſand two hundred and fifty-four pounds; a ſum almoſt incredible, if we conſider how the kingdom had been already drained of its treaſure. It was raiſed by the uſual taxes, reinforced with new impoſitions on widows, carriages, and ſpirituous liquors, a lottery, and a loan from the ſinking-fund. The new taxes were mortgaged for four millions by transferrable annuities, at an intereſt of four, and a premium of ten per centum. By reflecting on theſe enormous grants, one would imagine the miniſtry had been determined to impoveriſh the nation: but, from the eagerneſs and expedition with which the people ſubſcribed for the money,

BOOK II. 1746.

money, one would conclude that the riches of the kingdom were inexhauſtible. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the ſupplies of this year exceeded, by two millions and a half, the greateſt annual ſum that was raiſed during the reign of Queen Anne, though ſhe maintained as great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great-Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year freſh harveſts of glory and advantage: whereas this war had proved an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of events big with diſaſter and diſhonour. During the laſt two years, the naval expence of England had exceeded that of France about five millions ſterling; though her fleets had not obtained one ſingle advantage over the enemy at ſea, nor been able to protect her commerce from their depredations. She was at once a prey to her declared adverſaries and profeſſed friends. Before the end of ſummer, ſhe numbered among her mercenaries two Empreſſes, five German Princes, and a powerful Monarch, whom ſhe hired to aſſiſt her in trimming the balance of Europe, in which they themſelves were immediately intereſted, and ſhe had no more than a ſecondary concern. Had theſe fruitleſs ſubſidies been ſaved; had the national revenue been applied with œconomy to national purpoſes; had it been employed in liquidating gradually the publick incumbrances; in augmenting the navy, improving manufactures, encouraging and ſecuring the colonies, and extending trade and navigation; corruption would have become altogether unneceſſary, and diſaffection would have vaniſhed: the people would have been eaſed of their burthens, and ceaſed to complain: commerce would have flouriſhed, and produced ſuch affluence as muſt have raiſed Great-Britain to the higheſt pinnacle of maritime power, above all rivalſhip, or competition. She would have been dreaded by her enemies; revered by her neighbours: oppreſſed nations would have crept under her wings for protection; contending

Potentates

Potentates would have appealed to her decifion; and fhe would have fhone the univerfal arbitrefs of Europe. How different is her prefent fituation! her debts are enormous, her taxes intolerable, her people difcontented, and the finews of her government relaxed. Without conduct, confidence, or concert, fhe engages in blundering negociations: fhe involves herfelf rafhly in foreign quarrels, and lavifhes her fubftance with the moft dangerous precipitation: fhe is even deferted by her wonted vigour, fteadinefs, and intrepidity: fhe grows vain, fantaftical, and pufillanimous: her arms are defpifed by her enemies; and her councils ridiculed through all Chriftendom.

§ XVIII. The King, in order to exhibit a fpecicimen of his defire to diminifh the publick expence, ordered the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be difbanded, and reduced three regiments of horfe to the quality of dragoons. The Houfe of Commons prefented an addrefs of thanks for this inftance of œconomy, by which the annual fum of feventy thoufand pounds was faved to the nation. Notwithftanding this feeming harmony between the King and the great council of the nation, his Majefty refolved, with the advice of his council, to diffolve the prefent Parliament, though the term of feven years was not yet expired fince its firft meeting. The miniftry affected to infinuate, that the States-General were unwilling to concur with his Majefty in vigorous meafures againft France, during the exiftence of a Parliament which had undergone fuch a viciffitude of complexion. The Allies of Great-Britain, far from being fufpicious of this affembly, which had fupplied them fo liberally, faw with concern, that, according to law, it would foon be difmiffed; and they doubted whether another could be procured equally agreeable to their purpofes. In order to remove this doubt, the miniftry refolved to furprife the kingdom with a new election,

BOOK II. 1746. tion, before the malcontents ſhould be prepared to oppoſe the friends of the government. Accordingly, when the buſineſs of the ſeſſion was diſpatched, the King having given the Royal aſſent to the ſeveral acts they had prepared, diſmiſſed them in An. 1747. the month of June, with an affectionate ſpeech, that breathed nothing but tenderneſs and gratitude. The Parliament was immediately diſſolved by proclamation, and new writs were iſſued for convoking another. Among the laws paſſed in this ſeſſion, was an act aboliſhing the heritable juriſdictions, and taking away the tenure of wardholdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal ſources of thoſe rebellions that had been excited ſince the Revolution. In the Highlands they certainly kept the common people in ſubjection to their chiefs, whom they implicitly followed and obeyed in all their undertakings. By this act theſe mountaineers were legally emancipated from ſlavery: but as the tenants enjoyed no leaſes, and were at all times liable to be ejected from their farms, they ſtill depended on the pleaſure of their lords, notwithſtanding this interpoſition of the legiſlature, which granted a valuable conſideration in money to every nobleman and petty baron, who was thus deprived of one part of his inheritance. The forfeited eſtates indeed, were divided into ſmall farms, and let by the government on leaſes at an under value; ſo that thoſe who had the good fortune to obtain ſuch leaſes taſted the ſweets of independence: but the Highlanders in general were left in their original indigence and incapacity, at the mercy of their ſuperiors. Had manufactures and fiſheries been eſtabliſhed in different parts of their country, they would have ſeen and felt the happy conſequences of induſtry, and in a little time been effectually detached from all their ſlaviſh connections.

§ XIX. The operations of the campaign had been concerted in the winter at the Hague, between the

the Duke of Cumberland and the States-General of the United Provinces, who were by this time generally convinced of France's deſign to encroach upon their territories. They, therefore, determined to take effectual meaſures againſt that reſtleſs and ambitious neighbour. The allied Powers agreed to aſſemble a vaſt army in the Netherlands; and it was reſolved that the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe ſhould once more penetrate into Provence. The Dutch patriots, however, were not rouſed into this exertion, until all their remonſtrances had failed at the Court of Verſailles; until they had been urged by repeated memorials of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, and ſtimulated by the immediate danger to which their country was expoſed: for France was by this time poſſeſſed of all the Auſtrian Netherlands, and ſeemed bent upon penetrating into the territories of the United Provinces. In February, the Duke of Cumberland began to aſſemble the allied forces; and in the latter end of March they took the field in three ſeparate bodies. His Royal Highneſs, with the Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Heſſians, fixed his head-quarters at the village of Tilberg: the Prince of Waldeck was poſted with the Dutch troops at Breda; and Mareſchal Bathiani collected the Auſtrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, who lay inactive ſix weeks, expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, and almoſt deſtitute of forage and proviſion. Count Saxe, by this time created Mareſchal general of France, continued his troops within their cantonments at Bruges, Antwerp, and Bruſſels, declaring, that when the allied army ſhould be weakened by ſickneſs and mortality, he would convince the Duke of Cumberland, that the firſt duty of a general is to provide for the health and preſervation of his troops. In April this fortunate Commander took the field, at the head of one hundred and forty thouſand men; and the Count de

Clermont

BOOK II. 1746. Clermont commanded a ſeparate body of nineteen battalions and thirty ſquadrons. Count Lowendahl was detached on the ſixteenth day of the month, with ſeven-and-twenty thouſand men, to invade Dutch Flanders: at the ſame time, the French Miniſter at the Hague preſented a memorial to the States, intimating, that his maſter was obliged to take this ſtep by the neceſſity of war; but that his troops ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, without interfering with the religion, government, or commerce of the Republick: he likewiſe declared, that the countries and places of which he might be obliged to take poſſeſſion ſhould be detained no otherwiſe than as a pledge, to be reſtored as ſoon as the United Provinces ſhould give convincing proofs that they would no longer furniſh the enemies of France with ſuccours.

§ XX. While the States deliberated upon this declaration, Count Lowendahl entered Dutch Brabant, and inveſted the town and fortreſs of Sluys, the garriſon of which ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war on the nineteenth day of April. This was likewiſe the fate of Sas-van-Ghent, while the Marquis de Contades, with another detachment, reduced the forts Perle and Leifkenſhoek, with the town of Philippine, even within hearing of the confederate army. The fort of Sanberg was vigorouſly defended by two Engliſh battalions: but they were overpowered, and obliged to retire to Welſthoorden; and Count Lowendahl undertook the ſiege of Hulſt, which was ſhamefully ſurrendered by La Roque, the Dutch Governor, though he knew that a reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. Then the French General took poſſeſſion of Axel and Terneuſe, and began to prepare flat-bottomed boats for a deſcent on the iſland of Zealand. The Dutch people were now ſtruck with conſternation. They ſaw the enemy at their doors, and owed their immediate preſervation to the Britiſh ſquadron ſtationed

CHAP. IX. 1747.

ſtationed at the Swin, under the command of Commodore Mitchel *, who, by means of his ſloops, tenders, and ſmall craft, took ſuch meaſures as defeated the intention of Lowendahl. The common people in Zealand being reduced to deſpair, began to clamour loudly againſt their Governors, as if they had not taken the proper meaſures for their ſecurity. The friends of the Prince of Orange did not neglect this opportunity of promoting his intereſt. They encouraged their diſcontent, and exaggerated the danger: they reminded them of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-two, when the French King was at the gates of Amſterdam, and the Republick was ſaved by the choice of a Stadtholder: they exhorted them to turn their eyes on the deſcendant of thoſe heroes who had eſtabliſhed the liberty and independence of the United Provinces: they extolled his virtue and ability; his generoſity, his juſtice, his unſhaken love to his country. The people in ſeveral towns, inflamed by ſuch repreſentations to tumult and ſedition, compelled their magiſtrates to declare the Prince of Orange Stadtholder. He himſelf, in a letter to the States of Zealand, offered his ſervices for the defence of the province. On the twenty-eighth day of April he was nominated Captain-general and Admiral of Zealand. Their example was followed by Rotterdam and the whole province of Holland; and on the ſecond day of May, the Prince of Orange was, in the aſſembly of the States-General, inveſted with the power and dignity of Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the United Provinces. The vigorous conſequences of this reſolution immediately appeared. All commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited: the peaſants were armed and exerciſed: a reſolution paſſed for making a conſiderable augmentation of the army: a council of war was eſtabliſhed

* Not the perſon who commanded in the Weſt-Indies.

 for

BOOK II. 1747. for enquiring into the conduct of the Governors who had given up the frontier places; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French, both by sea and land.

§ XXI. Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland took post with his whole army between the two Nethes, to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maestricht; and Mareschal Saxe called in his detachments, with a view to hazard a general engagement. In the latter end of May, the French King arrived at Brussels; and his General resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. For this purpose he advanced towards Louvain; and the Confederates perceiving his drift, began their march to take post between the town and the enemy. On the twentieth day of June, they took possession of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Bilsen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they posted several battalions of British infantry. The French had taken possession of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the Allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. In the morning, the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was well fortified, and defended with amazing obstinacy. The assailants suffered terribly in their approach, from the cannon of the Confederates, which was served with surprising dexterity and success; and they met with such a warm reception from the British musquetry as they could not withstand: but, when they were broken and dispersed, fresh brigades succeeded with astonishing perseverance. The Confederates were driven out of the village: yet being sustained by three regiments, they measured back their ground, and repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. Nevertheless, Count Saxe continued pouring in other battalions, and the French regained and main-

maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times loſt and carried. The action was chiefly confined to this poſt, where the field exhibited a horrible ſcene of carnage. At noon the Duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance againſt the enemy, whoſe infantry gave way: Prince Waldeck led up the centre: Mareſchal Bathiani made a motion with the right wing towards Herdeeren, and victory ſeemed ready to declare for the Confederates, when the fortune of the day took a ſudden turn to their prejudice. Several ſquadrons of Dutch horſe, poſted in the centre, gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reſerve. The French cavalry charged them with great impetuoſity, increaſing the confuſion that was already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre. The Duke of Cumberland, who exerted himſelf with equal courage and activity in attempting to remedy this diſorder, was in danger of being taken; and the defeat would in all probability have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier taken the reſolution of ſacrificing himſelf and a part of the troops to the ſafety of the army. At the head of three Britiſh regiments of dragoons, and ſome ſquadrons of Imperial horſe, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry, with ſuch intrepidity and ſucceſs, that he overthrew all that oppoſed him, and made ſuch a diverſion as enabled the Duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maeſtricht. He himſelf was taken by a French carabineer, after his horſe had been killed: but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation. The Confederates retreated to Maeſtricht, without having ſuſtained much damage from the purſuit, and even brought off all their artillery, except ſixteen pieces of cannon. Their loſs did not exceed ſix thouſand men killed and taken; whereas the French General purchaſed the

CHAP. IX.

1747.

BOOK II. 1747. the victory at a much greater expence. The common cause of the confederate powers is said to have suffered from the pride and ignorance of their Generals. On the eve of the battle, when the detachment of the Count de Clermont appeared on the hill of Herdeeren, Marefchal Bathiani asked permission of the Commander in Chief to attack them before they should be reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprize. No regard was paid to this proposal: but the superiour asked in his turn, where the Marefchal would be in case he should be wanted? He replied, "I shall always be found at the head of my troops," and retired in disgust. The subsequent disposition has likewise been blamed, inasmuch as not above one half of the army could act, while the enemy exerted their whole force.

§ XXII. The Confederates passed the Maese, and encamped in the duchy of Limburgh, so as to cover Maestricht; while the French King remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Tongres. Marefchal Saxe, having amused the Allies with marches and counter-marches, at length detached Count Lowendahl with six-and-thirty thousand men to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, the favourite work of the famous engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally esteemed invincible. It was secured with a garrison of three thousand men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines. The enemy appeared before it on the twelfth day of July, and summoned the Governor to surrender. The Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen was sent to its relief, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons of the troops that could be most conveniently assembled; he entered the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, where he remained in expectation of a strong reinforcement from the confederate army; and the old Baron Cronstrom, whom the Stadtholder had appointed Go-

vernor

vernor of Brabant, assumed the command of the garrison. The besiegers carried on their operations with great vivacity; and the troops in the town defended it with equal vigour. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important siege: Count Lowendahl received divers reinforcements; and a considerable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of Baron Schwartzember, to co-operate with the Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen. The French General lost a great number of men by the close and continual fire of the besieged; while he, in his turn, opened such a number of batteries, and plied them so warmly, that the defences began to give way. From the sixteenth day of July to the fifteenth of September, the siege produced an intermitting scene of horror and destruction: desperate sallies were made, and mines sprung with the most dreadful effects: the works began to be shattered; the town was laid in ashes; the trenches were filled with carnage; nothing was seen but fire and smoke; nothing heard but one continued roar of bombs and cannon. But still the damage fell chiefly on the besiegers, who were slain in heaps; while the garrison suffered very little, and could be occasionally relieved or reinforced from the lines. In a word, it was generally believed that Count Lowendahl would be baffled in his endeavours; and by this belief the Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom seems to have been lulled into a blind security. At length, some inconsiderable breaches were made in one ravelin and two bastions, and these the French General resolved to storm, though Cronstrom believed they were impracticable; and on that supposition presumed that the enemy would not attempt an assault. For this very reason Count Lowendahl resolved to hazard the attack, before the preparations should be made for his reception. He accordingly regulated his dispositions, and at four o'clock in the morning, on the sixteenth day of Sepetmber, the signal was made

BOOK II. 1747.

made for the aſſault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themſelves into the foſſé, mounted the breaches, forced open a ſally-port, and entered the place, almoſt without reſiſtance. In a word, they had time to extend themſelves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garriſon could be aſſembled. Cronſtrom was aſleep, and the ſoldiers upon duty had been ſurprized by the ſuddenneſs and impetuoſity of the attack. Though the French had taken poſſeſſion of the ramparts, they did not gain the town without oppoſition. Two battalions of the Scottiſh troops, in the pay of the States-General, were aſſembled in the market-place, and attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were driven from ſtreet to ſtreet, until freſh reinforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn; yet they diſputed every inch of ground, and fought until two-thirds of them were killed upon the ſpot. Then they brought off the old Governor, abandoning the town to the enemy: the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately ſurrendered to the victors, who now became maſters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. The French King was no ſooner informed of Lowendahl's ſucceſs, than he promoted him to the rank of Mareſchal of France; appointed Count Saxe Governor of the conquered Netherlands; and returned in triumph to Verſailles. In a little time after this tranſaction, both armies were diſtributed into winter-quarters, and the Duke of Cumberland embarked for England.

§ XXIII. In Italy, the French arms did not triumph with equal ſucceſs, though the Mareſchal de Belleiſle ſaw himſelf at the head of a powerful army in Provence. In April he paſſed the Var without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of Nice. He met with little or no reſiſtance in reducing Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia; while General Brown with

with eight-and-twenty thousand Austrians, retired towards Final and Savona. In the mean time, another large body, under Count Schuylemberg, who had succeeded the Marquis de Botta, co-operated with fifteen thousand Piedmontese in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. The French King had sent their supplies, succours, and engineers, with the Duke de Boufflers, as Ambassador to the republick, who likewise acted as Commander in chief of the forces employed for its defence. The Austrian General assembled his troops in the Milanese: having forced the passage of the Bochetta on the thirteenth of January, he advanced into the territories of Genoa, and the Rivera was ravaged without mercy. On the last day of March he appeared before the city, at the head of forty thousand men, and summoned the revolters to lay down their arms. The answer he received was, that the republick had fifty-four thousand men in arms, two hundred and sixty cannon, thirty-four mortars, with abundance of ammunition and provision; that they would defend their liberty with their last blood, and be buried in the ruins of their capital, rather than submit to the clemency of the Court of Vienna, except by an honourable capitulation, guaranteed by the Kings of Great-Britain and Sardinia, the republick of Venice and the United Provinces. In the beginning of May, Genoa was invested on all sides; a furious sally was made by the Duke de Boufflers, who drove the besiegers from their posts; but the Austrians rallying, he was repulsed in his turn, with the loss of seven hundred men. General Schuylemberg carried on his operations with such skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he made himself master of the suburbs of Bisagno; and in all probability would have reduced the city, had he not been obliged to desist, in consequence of the repeated remonstrances made by the King of Sardinia and Count Brown, who represented the necessity of his abandoning his enterprize,

BOOK II. 1747. enterprize, and drawing off his army, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of Marescha de Belleisle. Accordingly, he raised the siege on the tenth day of June, and returned into the Milanese, in order to join his Sardinian Majesty; while the Genoese made an irruption into the Parmesan and Placentin, where they committed terrible outrages, in revenge for the mischiefs they had undergone.

§ XXIV. While the Mareschal de Belleisle remained at Ventimiglia, his brother, at the head of four-and-thirty thousand French and Spaniards, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont: on the sixth day of July he arrived at the pass of Exilles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphiné, situated on the north side of the river Doria. The defence of this important post the King of Sardinia had committed to the care of the Count de Brigueras, who formed an encampment behind the lines, with fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians, while divers detachments were posted along all the passes of the Alps. On the eighth day of the month the Piedmontese entrenchments were attacked by the Chevalier de Belleisle, with incredible intrepidity; but the columns were repulsed with great loss in three successive attacks. Impatient of this obstinate opposition, and determined not to survive a miscarriage, this impetuous General seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through a prodigious fire, pitched them with his own hand on the enemy's entrenchments. At that instant he fell dead, having received two musquet balls and the thrust of a bayonet in his body. The assailants were so much dispirited by the death of their Commander, that they forthwith gave way, and retreated with precipitation towards Sesteries, having lost near five thousand men in the attack. The Mareschal was no sooner informed of his brother's misfortune, than he retreated towards the Var, to join

6 the

the troops from Exilles, while the King of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiné with an invasion; but the excessive rains prevented the execution of his design. General Leutrum was detached with twenty battalions, to drive the French from Ventimiglia; but, Belleisle marching back, that scheme was likewise frustrated: and thus ended the campaign.

§ XXV. In this manner was the French King baffled in his projects upon Italy; nor was he more fortunate in his naval operations. He had, in the preceding year, equipped an expensive armament, under the command of the Duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape-Breton; but it was rendered ineffectual by storms, distempers, and the death of the Commander. Not yet discouraged by these disasters, he resolved to renew his efforts against the British colonies in North-America, and their settlements in the East-Indies. For these purposes two squadrons were prepared at Brest, one to be commanded by the Commodore de la Jonquiere; and the other destined for India, by Monsieur de St. George. The ministry of Great-Britain, being apprised of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to set sail together. For this purpose Vice-Admiral Anson and Rear-Admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable fleet, and steered their course to Cape Finisterre on the coast of Gallicia. On the third day of May they fell in with the French squadrons, commanded by La Jonquiere and St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by their East-India company, having under their convoy about thirty ships laden with merchandize. Those prepared for war immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle; while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the sail they could carry. The British squadron was likewise

BOOK II. 1747. likewiſe drawn up in line of battle; but Mr. Warren, perceiving that the enemy began to ſheer off, now their convoy was at a conſiderable diſtance, adviſed Admiral Anſon to haul in the ſignal for the line, and hoiſt another for giving chaſe and engaging, otherwiſe the French would, in all probability, eſcape by favour of the night. The propoſal was embraced; and in a little time the engagement began with great fury, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy ſuſtained the battle with equal conduct and valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they ſtruck their colours. The Admiral detached three ſhips in purſuit of the convoy, nine ſail of which were taken; but the reſt were ſaved by the intervening darkneſs. About ſeven hundred of the French were killed and wounded in this action. The Engliſh loſt about five hundred; and among theſe Captain Grenville, Commander of the ſhip Defiance. He was nephew to the Lord Viſcount Cobham, a youth of the moſt amiable character and promiſing genius, animated with the nobleſt ſentiments of honour and patriotiſm. Eager in the purſuit of glory, he ruſhed into the midſt of the battle, where both his legs were cut off by a cannon ball. He ſubmitted to his fate with the moſt heroick reſignation, and died univerſally lamented and beloved. The ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in this engagement was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the Rear-Admiral. A conſiderable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which was brought to Spithead in triumph; and the treaſure being landed, was conveyed in twenty waggons to the Bank of London. Admiral Anſon was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honoured with the Order of the Bath.

§ XXVI. About the middle of June, Commodore Fox, with ſix ſhips of war, cruiſing in the latitude of Cape Ortegal in Gallicia, took above forty French ſhips, richly laden from St. Domingo, after

they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French King sustained another more important loss at sea, in the month of October. Rear-Admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant-ships bound for the West-Indies. He cruised for some time on the coast of Bretagne; and at length the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Monsieur de Letendeur. On the fourteenth day of October the two squadrons were in sight of each other, in the latitude of Belleisle. The French Commodore immediately ordered one of his great ships, and the frigates, to proceed with the trading ships, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon Admiral Hawke displayed the signal to chase, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when all the French squadron, except the Intrepide and Tonant, had struck to the English flag. These two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition. The French Captains sustained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and resolution; and did not yield until their ships were disabled. Their loss in men amounted to eight hundred: the number of English killed in this engagement did not exceed two hundred, including Captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had served under Lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacifick Ocean. Indeed, it must be owned, for the honour of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raised by his influence, approved themselves in all respects worthy of the commands to which they were preferred. Immediately after the action, Admiral Hawke dispatched a sloop to Commodore Legge, whose squadron was stationed at the Leeward Islands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ships, outward-

CHAP. IX.

1747.

BOOK II. 1747. outward-bound, that he might take the proper measures for intercepting them in their paſſage to Martinique, and the other French iſlands. In conſequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands. Admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to Spithead; and in his letter to the Board of Admiralty declared, that all his Captains behaved like men of honour during the engagement, except Mr. Fox, whoſe conduct he deſired might be ſubjected to an enquiry. That gentleman was accordingly tried by a court-martial, and ſuſpended from his command, for having followed the advice of his officers, contrary to his own better judgment: but he was ſoon reſtored, and afterwards promoted to the rank of Admiral; while Mr. Matthews, whoſe courage never incurred ſuſpicion, ſtill laboured under a ſuſpenſion for that which had been ſucceſsfully practiſed in both theſe late actions, namely, engaging the enemy without any regard to the line of battle.

§ XXVII. In the Mediterranean, Vice-Admiral Medley blocked up the Spaniſh ſquadron in Carthagena; aſſiſted the Auſtrian General on the coaſt of Villafranca; and intercepted ſome of the ſuccours ſent from France to the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe. At his death, which happened in the beginning of Auguſt, the command of that ſquadron devolved upon Rear-Admiral Byng, who proceeded on the ſame plan of operation. In the ſummer, two Britiſh ſhips of war, having under their convoy a fleet of merchant-ſhips bound to North-America, fell in with the Glorioſo, a Spaniſh ſhip of eighty guns, in the latitude of the Weſtern-Iſles. She had ſailed from the Havannah, with an immenſe treaſure on board, and muſt have fallen a prize to the Engliſh ſhips, had each Captain done his duty. Captain Erſkine, in the Warwick of ſixty guns, attacked her with great intrepidity, and fought until his ſhip was entirely diſabled; but being unſuſtained by his

conſort,

consort, he was obliged to haul off, and the Glorioso arrived in safety, at Ferrol: there the silver was landed, and she proceeded on her voyage to Cadiz, which, however, she did not reach. She was encountered by the Dartmouth, a British frigate of forty guns, commanded by Captain Hamilton, a gallant youth, who, notwithstanding the inequality of force, engaged her without hesitation: but in the heat of the action, his ship being set on fire by accident, was blown up, and he perished with all his crew, except a midshipman and ten or eleven sailors, who were taken up alive by a privateer that happened to be in sight. Favourable as this accident may seem to the Glorioso, she did not escape. An English ship of eighty guns, under the command of Captain Buckle, came up, and obliged the Spaniards to surrender, after a short, but vigorous engagement. Commodore Griffin had been sent, with a reinforcement of ships, to assume the command of the squadron in the East-Indies; and although his arrival secured Fort St. David's, and the other British settlements in that country, from the insults of Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, his strength was not sufficient to enable him to undertake any enterprize of importance against the enemy: the ministry of England, therefore, resolved to equip a fresh armament, that, when joined by the ships in India, should be in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, the principal settlement belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel. For this service, a good number of independent companies was raised, and set sail, in the sequel, with a strong squadron under the conduct of Rear-Admiral Boscawen, an officer of unquestioned valour and capacity. In the course of this year, the British cruizers were so alert and successful, that they took six hundred and forty-four prizes from the French and Spaniards, whereas the loss of Great-Britain in the same time, did not exceed five hundred and fifty.

§ XXVIII.

BOOK II. 1747. § XXVIII. All the belligerent powers were by this time heartily tired of a war which had consumed an immensity of treasure, had been productive of so much mischief, and in the events of which, all, in their turns, had found themselves disappointed. Immediately after the battle, of Laffeldt, the King of France had, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, expressed his desire of a pacification; and afterwards his minister at the Hague presented a declaration on the same subject to the deputies of the States-General. The signal success of the British arms at sea confirmed him in these sentiments, which were likewise reinforced by a variety of other considerations. His finances were almost exhausted, and his supplies from the Spanish West-Indies, rendered so precarious by the vigilance of the British cruizers, that he could no longer depend upon their arrival. The trading part of his subjects had sustained such losses, that his kingdom was filled with bankruptcies; and the best part of his navy now contributed to strengthen the fleets of his enemies. The election of a Stadtholder had united the whole power of the States-General against him, in taking the most resolute measures for their own safety: his views in Germany were intirely frustrated by the elevation of the Grand Duke to the Imperial throne, and the re-establishment of peace between the houses of Austria and Brandenburgh: the success of his arms in Italy had not at all answered his expectation; and Genoa was become an expensive ally. He had the mortification to see the commerce of Britain flourish in the midst of war, while his own people were utterly impoverished. The parliament of England granted, and the nation paid such incredible sums as enabled their Sovereign not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewise to give subsidies to all the powers of Europe. He knew that a treaty of this kind was actually upon the anvil between his Britannick Majesty and the Czarina,

Czarina, and he began to be apprehenſive of ſeeing an army of Ruſſians in the Netherlands. His fears from this quarter were not without foundation. In the month of November, the Earl of Hyndford, Ambaſſador from the King of Great-Britain at the Court of Ruſſia, concluded a treaty of ſubſidy, by which the Czarina engaged to hold in readineſs thirty thouſand men, and forty gallies, to be employed in the ſervice of the Confederates, on the firſt requiſition. The States-General acceded to this agreement, and even conſented to pay one-fourth of the ſubſidy. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, moved by theſe conſiderations, made further advances towards an accommodation both at the Hague and in London; and the contending powers agreed to another congreſs, which was actually opened in March at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinſon aſſiſted as plenipotentiaries from the King of Great-Britain.

1747.

§ XXIX. The elections for the new Parliament in England had been conducted ſo as fully to anſwer the purpoſes of the Duke of Newcaſtle, and his brother Mr. Pelham, who had for ſome time wholly engroſſed the adminiſtration. Both houſes were aſſembled on the tenth day of November, when Mr. Onſlow was unanimouſly re-elected Speaker of the Commons. The ſeſſion was opened as uſual, by a ſpeech from the throne, congratulating them on the ſignal ſucceſſes of the Britiſh navy, and the happy alteration in the government of the United Provinces. His Majeſty gave them to underſtand, that a congreſs would ſpeedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for affecting a general pacification; and reminded them that nothing would more conduce to the ſucceſs of this negociation than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings. He received ſuch addreſſes as the miniſters were pleaſed to dictate. Oppoſition now languiſhed at their feet. The Duke of Bedford was

become

BOOK II. 1747. become a courtier, and in a little time appointed Secretary of State, in the room of the Earl of Chesterfield, who had lately executed that office, which he now resigned; and the Earl of Sandwich no longer harangued against the administration. This new House of Commons, in imitation of the liberality of their predecessors, readily gratified all the requests of the government. They voted forty thousand seamen, forty-nine thousand land-forces, besides eleven thousand five hundred marines; the subsidies for the Queen of Hungary, the Czarina, the King of Sardinia, the Electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Hessians, and the Duke of Wolfenbuttle: the sum of two hundred thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-nine pounds was granted to the provinces of New England, to re-imburse them for the expence of reducing Cape-Breton: five hundred thousand pounds were given to his Majesty for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and about one hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds to the Scottish claimants in lieu of their jurisdiction. The supplies for the ensuing year fell very little short of nine millions, of which the greater part was raised on a loan by subscription, chargeable on a new subsidy of poundage exacted from all merchandise imported into Great-Britain. Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed the legislature had established some regulations in Scotland, which were thought necessary to prevent such commotions for the future. The Highlanders were disarmed, and an act passed, for abolishing their peculiarity of garb, which was supposed to keep up party distinctions, to encourage their martial disposition, and preserve the memory of the exploits achieved by their ancestors. In this session a bill was brought in to inforce the execution of that law, and passed with another act for the more effectual punishment of high-treason in the Highlands of Scotland. The practice of insuring French and Spanish

Spanish ships at London being deemed the sole circumstance that prevented a total stagnation of commerce in those countries, it was prohibited by law under several penalties; and this step of the British Parliament accelerated the conclusion of the treaty. Several other prudent measures were taken in the course of this session, for the benefit of the publick; and among these we may reckon an act for encouraging the manufacture of indigo in the British plantations of North-America; an article for which Great-Britain used to pay two hundred thousand pounds yearly to the subjects of France. The session was closed on the thirteenth day of May, when the King declared to both Houses, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually signed at Aix-la-Chapelle by the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and the United Provinces; and that the basis of this accommodation was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the war. Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament his Majesty set out for his German dominions, after having appointed a Regency to rule the realm in his absence.

CHAP. IX.

1747.

An. 1748.

§ XXX. The articles might have been made much less unfavourable to Great-Britain and her allies, had the ministry made a proper use of the treaty with the Czarina; and if the Confederates had acted with more vigour and expedition in the beginning of the campaign. The Russian auxiliaries might have been transported by sea to Lubeck before the end of the preceding summer, in their own gallies which had been laying ready for use since the month of July. Had this expedient been used, the Russian troops would have joined the confederate army before the conclusion of the last campaign. But this easy and expeditious method of conveyance was rejected for a march by land, of incredible length and difficulty, which could not be begun before the month of January, nor accom-

BOOK II. 1748. plifhed till Midfummer. The operations of the campaign had been concerted at the Hague in January, by the refpective minifters of the Allies, who refolved to bring an army of one hundred and ninety thoufand men into the Netherlands, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered. The towns of Holland became the fcenes of tumult and infurrection. The populace plundered the farmers of the revenue, abolifhed the taxes, and infulted the magiftrates; fo that the States-General, feeing their country on the brink of anarchy and confufion, authorifed the Prince of Orange to make fuch alterations as he fhould fee convenient. They prefented him with a diploma, by which he was conftituted hereditary Stadtholder and Captain-General of Dutch Brabant, Flanders, and the Upper quarter of Guelderland; and the Eaft-India company appointed him Director and Governor-General of their commerce and fettlements in the Indies. Thus invefted with authority unknown to his anceftors, he exerted himfelf with equal induftry and difcretion in new modelling, augmenting, and affembling the troops of the Republick. The Confederates knew that the Count de Saxe had a defign upon Maeftricht: the Auftrian General Bathiani made repeated remonftrances to the Britifh miniftry, entreating them to take fpeedy meafures for the prefervation of that fortrefs. He in the month of January propofed that the Duke of Cumberland fhould crofs the fea, and confer with the Prince of Orange on this fubject: he undertook, at the peril of his head, to cover Maeftricht with feventy thoufand men, from all attacks of the enemy: but his reprefentations feemed to have made very little impreffion on thofe to whom they were addreffed. The Duke of Cumberland did not depart from England till towards the latter end of February: part of March was elapfed, before the tranfports failed from the Nore with the additional troops

troops and artillery; and the last drafts from the foot-guards were not embarked till the middle of August. CHAP. IX. 1748.

§ XXXI. The different bodies of the confederate forces joined each other, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ruremond, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand men; and the French army invested Maestricht, without opposition, on the third day of April. The garrison consisted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the Governor, Baron d'Aylva, who defended the place with extraordinary skill and resolution. He annoyed the besiegers in repeated sallies; but they were determined to surmount all opposition, and prosecuted their approaches with incredible ardour. They assaulted the covered way, and there effected a lodgement, after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops: but, next day they were entirely dislodged by the gallantry of the garrison. These hostilities were suddenly suspended, in consequence of the preliminaries signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of his Christian Majesty's arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his General, on condition that it should be restored with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly took possession of it on the third day of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honours of war; and a cessation of arms immediately ensued. By this time the Russian auxiliaries, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, commanded by Prince Repnin, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their Imperial Majesties; then they proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, after they had marched seven hundred miles since the beginning of the year. The French King declared, that should they advance farther, he would demolish the fortifications of Maestricht and Bergen-op-zoom. This dispute was referred

BOOK II. 1748. referred to the plenipotentiaries, who, in the beginning of Auguſt, concluded a convention, importing, that the Ruſſian troops ſhould return to their own country; and that the French King ſhould diſband an equal number of his forces. The ſeaſon being far advanced, the Ruſſians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they continued till the ſpring, when they marched back to Livonia. In the mean time ſeven-and-thirty thouſand French troops were withdrawn from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies remained quiet till the concluſion of the definitive treaty. The ſuſpenſion of arms was proclaimed at London, and in all the capitals of the contracting powers: orders were ſent to the reſpective Admirals in different parts of the world, to refrain from hoſtilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations which had been at variance. No material tranſaction diſtinguiſhed the campaign in Italy. The French and Spaniſh troops who had joined the Genoeſe in the territories of the republick, amounted to thirty thouſand men, under the direction of the Duke de Richelieu, who was ſent from France to aſſume that command, on the death of the Duke de Boufflers; while Mareſchal de Belleiſle, at the head of fifty thouſand men, covered the weſtern Riviera, which was threatened with an invaſion by forty thouſand Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, under General Leutrum. At the ſame time General Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the eaſtern Riviera, and re-commence the ſiege of Genoa. But theſe intended operations were prevented by an armiſtice, which took place as ſoon as the belligerent powers had acceded to the preliminaries.

§ XXXII. In the Eaſt-Indies, Rear-Admiral Boſcawen undertook the ſiege of Pondicherry, which, in the month of Auguſt, he blocked up by ſea with his ſquadron, and inveſted by land with a ſmall

army of four thouſand Europeans, and about two thouſand natives of that country. He proſecuted the enterpriſe with great ſpirit, and took the fort of Area Coupan, at the diſtance of three miles from the town: then he made his approaches to the place, againſt which he opened batteries, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the ſhipping. But the fortifications were ſo ſtrong, the garriſon ſo numerous, and the engineers of the enemy ſo expert in their profeſſion, that he made very little progreſs, and ſuſtained conſiderable damage. At length, his army being diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and the rainy ſeaſon approaching, he ordered the artillery and ſtores to be re-embarked; and raiſing the ſiege on the ſixth day of October, returned to fort St. David, after having loſt about a thouſand men in this expedition. In the ſequel, ſeveral ſhips of his ſquadron, and above twelve hundred ſailors periſhed in a hurricane. The naval force of Great-Britain was more ſucceſsful in the Weſt-Indies. Rear-Admiral Knowles, with a ſquadron of eight ſhips, attacked Fort Louis, on the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, which after a warm action of three hours was ſurrendered on capitulation, and diſmantled. Then he made an abortive attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, and returned to Jamaica, extremely chagrined at his diſappointment, which he imputed to the miſconduct of Captain Dent, who was tried in England by a Court-Martial, and honourably acquitted. On the firſt day of October, the ſame Admiral cruiſing in the neighbourhood of the Havannah, with eight ſhips of the line, encountered a Spaniſh ſquadron of nearly the ſame ſtrength, under the command of the Admirals Reggio and Spinola. The engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued with intervals till eight in the evening, when the enemy retired to the Havannah, with the loſs of two ſhips; one of which ſtruck to the Britiſh Admiral, and the

 other

BOOK II. 1748. other was, two days after, ſet on fire by her own Commander, that ſhe might not fall into the hands of the Engliſh. Mr. Knowles taxed ſome of his Captains with miſbehaviour, and they recriminated on his conduct. On their return to England, a Court-Martial was the conſequence of the mutual accuſations. Thoſe who adhered to the Commander, and the others whom he impeached, were inflamed againſt each other with the moſt rancorous reſentment. The Admiral himſelf did not eſcape uncenſured: two of his Captains were reprimanded: but Captain Holmes, who had diſplayed uncommon courage, was honourably acquitted. Their animoſities did not end with the Court-Martial. A bloodleſs encounter happened between the Admiral and Captain Powlett: but Captain Innes and Captain Clarke, meeting by appointment in Hyde-Park with piſtols, the former was mortally wounded, and died next morning; the latter was tried, and condemned for murder, but indulged with his Majeſty's pardon. No naval tranſaction of any conſequence happened in the European ſeas, during the courſe of this ſummer. In January, indeed, the Magnanime, a French ſhip of the line, was taken in the channel by two Engliſh cruiſers, after an obſtinate engagement; and the privateers took a conſiderable number of merchant ſhips from the enemy.

§ XXXIII. The plenipotentiaries ſtill continued at Aix-la-Chapelle, diſcuſſing all the articles of the definitive treaty, which was at length concluded and ſigned on the ſeventh of October. It was founded on former treaties, which were now expreſsly confirmed, from that of Weſtphalia to the laſt concluded at London and Vienna. The contracting parties agreed, That all priſoners on each ſide ſhould be mutually releaſed, without ranſom, and all conqueſts reſtored: That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, ſhould be ceded as a ſettlement to the Infant Don Philip, and the

heirs

heirs male of his body; but in case of his ascending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male-issue, that they should revert to the House of Austria: That the King of Great-Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction, to reside in France, as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape-Breton, and all the other conquests which his Britannick Majesty should have achieved in the East or West-Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed: That the assiento contract, with the article of the annual ship, should be confirmed for four years, during which the enjoyment of that privilege was suspended since the commencement of the present war: That Dunkirk should remain fortified on the land side, and towards the sea continuing on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the King of Prussia for the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he at present possessed them; and they likewise engaged to secure the Empress-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia in possession of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatick sanction. The other articles regulated the forms and times fixed for this mutual restitution, as well as for the termination of hostilities in different parts of the world. But the right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas, without being subject to search, was not once mentioned, though this claim was the original source of the differences between Great-Britain and Spain: nor were the limits of Acadia ascertained. This and all other disputes were left to the discussion of commissaries. We have already observed, that after the troubles of the Empire began, the war was no longer maintained on British principles. It became a continental contest, and was prosecuted on the side of the Allies without conduct, spirit, or unanimity. In the Netherlands they were outnumbered and out-

BOOK II. 1748. witted by the enemy. They never hazarded a battle without ſuſtaining a defeat. Their vaſt armies, paid by Great-Britain, lay inactive, and beheld one fortreſs reduced after another, until the whole country was ſubdued; and as their Generals fought, their plenipotentiaries negociated. At a time when their affairs began to wear the moſt promiſing aſpect, when the arrival of the Ruſſian auxiliaries would have ſecured an undoubted ſuperiority in the field; when the Britiſh fleets had trampled on the naval power of France and Spain, intercepted their ſupplies of treaſure, and cut of all their reſources of commerce; the Britiſh miniſters ſeemed to treat, without the leaſt regard to the honour and advantage of their country. They left her moſt valuable and neceſſary rights of trade unowned and undecided: they ſubſcribed to the inſolent demand of ſending the nobles of the realm to grace the court, and adorn the triumphs of her enemy: and they tamely gave up her conqueſts in North-America, of more conſequence to her traffick than all the other dominions for which the powers at war contended: they gave up the important iſle of Cape-Breton, in exchange for a petty factory in the Eaſt-Indies, belonging to a private company, whoſe exiſtence had been deemed prejudicial to the commonwealth. What then were the fruits which Britain reaped from this long and deſperate war? A dreadful expence of blood and treaſure *, diſgrace upon diſgrace, an additional

* Such an expenſive war could not be maintained without a very extraordinary exertion of a commercial ſpirit: accordingly we find that Great-Britain, ſince the death of King William, has riſen under her preſſures with increaſed vigour and perſeverance. Whether it be owing to the natural progreſſion of trade extending itſelf from its origin to its *acme* or *ne plus ultra*, or to the encouragement given by the adminiſtration to monied men of all denominations; or to neceſſity, impelling thoſe who can no longer live on ſmall incomes to riſque their capitals in traffick, that they may have a chance for bettering their fortunes; or laſtly, to a concurrence of all theſe cauſes; certain it is, the national exports and imports have been ſenſibly

additional load of grievous impositions, and the national debt accumulated to the enormous sum of eighty millions sterling. CHAP. IX. 1748.

sibly increasing for these forty years; the yearly medium of woollen exports, from the year 1738 to 1743 inclusive, amounted to about three millions and an half, which was a yearly increase on the medium, of five hundred thousand pounds above the medium from 1718 to 1724. From this article, the reader will conceive the prodigious extent and importance of the British commerce.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

§ I. *Reflections on the peace.* § II. *The Prince of Wales's adherents join the opposition.* § III. *Character of the ministry.* § IV. *Session opened.* § V. *Debate on the address.* § VI. *Supplies granted.* § VII. *Exorbitant demand of the Empress-Queen opposed.* § VIII. *Violent contest concerning the seamen's bill.* § IX. *Objections to the mutiny bill.* § X. *Bill for limiting the term of a soldier's service.* § XI. *Measures taken with respect to the African trade.* § XII. *Scheme for improving the British fishery.* § XIII. *Attempt to open the commerce to Hudson's bay.* § XIV. *Plan for manning the navy.* § XV. *Fruitless motions made by the opposition.* § XVI. *Severities exercised upon some students at Oxford.* § XVII. *Duke of Newcastle chosen Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.* § XVIII. *Tumults in different parts of the kingdom.* § XIX. *Scheme for a settlement in Nova-Scotia.* § XX. *Town of Hallifax founded.* § XXI. *French attemps to settle the island of Tobago.* § XXII. *Rejoicings for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.* § XXIII. *Pretender's*

tender's eldest son arrested at Paris. § XXIV. *Appearance of a rupture between Russia and Sweden.* § XXV. *Interposition of the King of Prussia.* § XXVI. *Measures taken by the French ministry.* § XXVII. *Conduct of different European powers.* § XXVIII. *Insolence of the Barbary Corsairs.* § XXIX. *Disturbances in England.* § XXX. *Session opened.* § XXXI. *Subjects of debate.* § XXXII. *Scheme for reducing the interest of the national debt.* § XXXIII. *Act passed for that purpose.* § XXXIV. *New mutiny bill.* § XXXV. *Bill for encouraging the importation of iron from America.* § XXXVI. *Erection of the British herring fishery.* § XXXVII. *New African Company.* § XXXVIII. *Westminster election.* § XXXIX. *Earthquakes in London.* § XL. *Pestilential fever at the session in the Old-Bailey.* § XLI. *Disputes between Russia and Sweden.* § XLII. *Plan for electing the Arch-duke Joseph King of the Romans.* § XLIII. *Opposition of the King of Prussia.* § XLIV. *Disputes with the French about the limits of Nova-Scotia.* § XLV. *Treaty with Spain.* § XLVI. *Session opened.* § XLVII. *Debate on the address.* § XLVIII. *Supplies granted.* § XLIX. *Death and character of the Prince of Wales.* § L. *Settlement of a Regency, in case of a minor Sovereign.* § LI. *General naturalization bill.* § LII. *Censure passed upon a paper intitled Constitutional Queries.* § LIII. *Proceedings of the Commons on the Westminster election.* § LIV. *Mr. Murray sent prisoner to Newgate.* § LV. *Session closed. Stile altered.*

CHAP. I. 1748.

§ I. THE peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, however, unstable or inglorious it might appear to those few who understood the interests, and felt for the honour of their country, was nevertheless not unwelcome to the nation in general. The British ministry will always find it more difficult to satisfy the people at the end of a successful campaign, than at

BOOK III. 1748.

at the conclusion of an unfortunate war. The English are impatient of miscarriage and disappointment, and too apt to be intoxicated with victory. At this period they were tired of the burthens, and sick of the disgraces, to which they had been exposed in the course of seven tedious campaigns. They had suffered considerable losses and interruption in the article of commerce, which was the source of their national opulence and power: they knew it would necessarily be clogged with additional duties, for the maintenance of a continental war, and the support of foreign subsidiaries; and they drew very faint presages of future success either from the conduct of their allies, or the capacity of their commanders. To a people influenced by these considerations, the restoration of a free trade, the respite from that anxiety and suspence which the prosecution of a war never fails to engender, and the prospect of a speedy deliverance from discouraging restraint and oppressive impositions, were advantages that sweetened the bitter draught of a dishonourable treaty, and induced the majority of the nation to acquiesce in the peace, not barely without murmuring, but even with some degree of satisfaction and applause.

§ II. Immediately after the exchange of ratifications at Aix-la-Chapelle the armies were broken up: the Allies in the Netherlands withdrew their several proportions of troops; the French began to evacuate Flanders: and the English forces were re-embarked for their own country. His Britannick Majesty returned from his German dominions in November, having landed near Margate, in Kent, after a dangerous passage; and on the twenty-ninth of the same month he opened the session of Parliament. By this time the misunderstanding between the two first personages of the Royal Family had been increased by a fresh succession of matter. The Prince of Wales had held a court of Stannary, in quality of Duke of Cornwall; and revived some

claims

claims attached to that dignity, which, had they been admitted, would have greatly augmented his influence among the Cornish boroughs. These efforts roused the jealousy of the Administration, which had always considered them as an interest wholly dependent on the Crown; and, therefore, the pretensions of his Royal Highness were opposed by the whole weight of the Ministry. His adherents, resenting these hostilities as an injury to their Royal Master, immediately joined the remnant of the former opposition in Parliament, and resolved to counteract all the ministerial measures that should fall under their cognizance; at least, they determined to seize every opportunity of thwarting the servants of the Crown, in every scheme or proposal that had not an evident tendency to the advantage of the nation. This band of auxiliaries was headed by the Earl of E—t, Dr. Lee, and Mr. N—t. The first possessed a species of eloquence rather plausible than powerful: he spoke with fluency and fire; his spirit was bold and enterprising, his apprehension quick, and his repartee severe. Dr. Lee was a man of extensive erudition and irreproachable morals, particularly versed in the civil law, which he professed, and perfectly well acquainted with the constitution of his country. Mr. N—t was an orator of middling abilities, who harangued upon all subjects indiscriminately, and supplied with confidence what he wanted in capacity: he had been at some pains to study the business of the House, as well as to understand the machine of government; and was tolerably well heard, as he generally spoke with an appearance of good humour, and hazarded every whimsical idea, as it arose in his imagination. But lord Bolingbroke is said to have been the chief spring which, in secret, actuated the deliberations of the Prince's court. That nobleman, seemingly sequestered from the tumults of a publick life, resided at Battersea, where he was visited like a sainted shrine by all the distinguished

BOOK III. 1748. diſtinguiſhed votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition. There he was cultivated and admired for the elegance of his manners, and the charms of his converſation. The Prince's curioſity was firſt captivated by his character, and his eſteem was afterwards ſecured by the irreſiſtible addreſs of that extraordinary perſonage, who continued in a regular progreſſion to inſinuate himſelf ſtill farther and farther into the good graces of his Royal Patron. How far the conduct of his Royal Highneſs was influenced by the private advice of this nobleman we ſhall not pretend to determine: but, certain it is, the friends of the miniſtry propagated a report, that he was the dictator of thoſe meaſures which the Prince adopted; and that, under the ſpecious pretext of attachment to the Heir Apparent of the Crown, he concealed his real aim, which was to perpetuate the breach in the Royal family. Whatever his ſentiments and motives might have been, this was no other than a revival of the old miniſterial clamour, that a man cannot be well affected to the King, if he pretends to cenſure any meaſure of the adminiſtration.

§ III. The weight which the oppoſition derived from theſe new confederates in the Houſe of Commons was ſtill greatly overbalanced by the power, influence, and ability that ſuſtained every miniſterial project. Mr. Pelham, who chiefly managed the helm of affairs, was generally eſteemed as a man of honeſty and candour, actuated by a ſincere love for his country, though he had been educated in erroneous principles of government, and in ſome meaſure obliged to proſecute a fatal ſyſtem which deſcended to him by inheritance. At this time he numbered Mr. Pitt among his fellow-miniſters, and was moreover ſupported by many other individuals of diſtinguiſhed abilities; among whom the firſt place in point of genius, was due to Mr. M. who executed the office of Sollicitor-general. This

gentleman,

gentleman, the ſon of a noble family in North-Britain, had raiſed himſelf to great eminence at the bar, by a moſt keen intuitive ſpirit of apprehenſion, that ſeemed to ſeize every object at firſt glance; an innate ſagacity, that ſaved the trouble of intenſe application; and an irreſiſtible ſtream of eloquence, that flowed pure and claſſical, ſtrong and copious, reflecting in the moſt conſpicuous point of view, the ſubjects over which it rolled, and ſweeping before it all the ſlime of formal heſitation, and all the entangling weeds of chicanery. Yet the ſervants of the Crown were not ſo implicitly attached to the firſt miniſter as to acquieſce in all his plans, and dedicate their time and talents to the ſupport of every court-meaſure indiſcriminately. This was one material point in which Mr. Pelham deviated from the maxims of his predeceſſor, who admitted of no contradiction from any of his adherents or fellow-ſervants, but inſiſted on ſacrificing their whole perception and faculties to his conduct and diſpoſal. That ſordid deference to a miniſter no longer characteriſed the ſubordinate inſtruments of the adminiſtration. It was not unuſual to ſee the great officers of the government divided in a parliamentary debate, and to hear the Secretary at War oppoſing with great vehemence a clauſe ſuggeſted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. After all, if we coolly conſider thoſe arguments which have been bandied about, and retorted with ſuch eagerneſs and acrimony in the Houſe of Commons, and diveſt them of thoſe paſſionate tropes and declamatory metaphors which the ſpirit of oppoſition alone had produced, we ſhall find very little left for the ſubject of diſpute, and ſometimes be puzzled to diſcover any material ſource of diſagreement.

§ IV. In the month of November his Majeſty opened the ſeſſion of Parliament with a ſpeech, acquainting them, That the definitive treaty of peace

BOOK III. 1748.

was at length ſigned by all the parties concerned: That he had made the moſt effectual proviſion for ſecuring the rights and intereſts of his own ſubjects; and procured for his Allies the beſt conditions, which, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, could be obtained. He ſaid, he had found a general good diſpoſition in all parties to bring the negociation to a happy concluſion; and obſerved, that we might promiſe ourſelves a long enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace. Finally, after having remarked that times of tranquillity were the proper ſeaſons for leſſening the national debt, and ſtrengthening the kingdom againſt future events, he recommended to the Commons the improvement of the publick revenue, the maintenance of a conſiderable naval force, the advancement of commerce, and the cultivation of the arts of peace. This ſpeech, as uſual, was echoed back by an addreſs to the throne from both Houſes, containing general expreſſions of the warmeſt loyalty and gratitude to his Majeſty, and implying the moſt perfect ſatisfaction and acquieſcence in the articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

§ V. The members in the oppoſition, according to cuſtom, cavilled at the nature of this addreſs. They obſerved, that the late pacification was the worſt and moſt inglorious of all the bad treaties to which the Engliſh nation had ever ſubſcribed: that it was equally diſgraceful, indefinite, and abſurd: they ſaid, the Britiſh navy had gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the French at ſea, that the ſources of their wealth were already choaked up; that the ſiege of Maeſtricht would have employed their arms in the Low-Countries till the arrival of the Ruſſians; and that the acceſſion of theſe auxiliaries would have thrown the ſuperiority into the ſcale of the Allies. They did not fail to take notice, that the moſt important and original object of the war was left wholly undecided; and demonſtrated the abſurdity of their promiſing, in the addreſs to make good ſuch

engagements

engagements as his Majeſty had entered into with his allies, before they knew what thoſe engagements were. In anſwer to theſe objections, the miniſters replied, That the peace was, in itſelf, rather better than could be expected; and that the ſmalleſt delay might have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They affirmed, that the Dutch were upon the point of concluding a neutrality, in conſequence of which their troops would have been withdrawn from the allied army; and, in that caſe, even the addition of the Ruſſian auxiliaries would not have rendered it a match for the enemy. They aſſerted, that if the war had been prolonged another year, the national credit of Great-Britain muſt have been entirely ruined, many of the publick funds having ſunk below par in the preceding ſeaſon, ſo that the miniſtry had begun to deſpair of ſeeing the money paid in on the new ſubſcription. With reſpect to the reſtoration of Cape-Breton, the limits of Nova-Scotia, and the right of navigating without ſearch in the American ſeas, which right had been left uneſtabliſhed in the treaty, they declared, that the firſt was an unneceſſary expence, of no conſequence to Great-Britain; and that the other two were points in diſpute, to be amicably ſettled in private conferences by Commiſſaries duly authorized; but by no means articles to be eſtabliſhed by a general treaty.

§ VI. What the oppoſition wanted in ſtrength, it endeavoured to make up with ſpirit and perſeverance. Every miniſterial motion and meaſure was canvaſſed, ſifted, and decried with uncommon art and vivacity: but all this little availed againſt the ſingle article of ſuperior numbers; and accordingly this was the ſource of certain triumph in all debates in which the ſervants of the crown were united. The nation had reaſon to expect an immediate mitigation in the article of annual expence, conſidering the number of troops and ſhips of war which

BOOK III. 1748. had been reduced at the ratification of the treaty; but they were disagreeably undeceived in finding themselves again loaded with very extraordinary impositions, for the payment of a vast debt which government had contracted in the course of the war, notwithstanding the incredible aids granted by Parliament. The committee of supply established four points of consideration, in their deliberations concerning the sums necessary to be raised; namely, for fulfilling the engagements which the Parliament had entered into with his Majesty, and the services undertaken for the success of the war; for discharging debts contracted by government; for making good deficiencies; and for defraying the current expence of the year. It appeared, that the nation owed four-and-forty thousand pounds to the Elector of Bavaria; above thirty thousand to the Duke of Brunswick; the like sum to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and near nine thousand pounds to the Elector of Mentz. The Queen of Hungary claimed an arrear of one hundred thousand pounds. The city of Glasgow, in North-Britain, presented a petition, praying to be reimbursed the sum of ten thousand pounds, extorted from that corporation by the son of the Pretender, during the rebellion. One hundred and twelve thousand pounds were owing to the forces in North-America and the East-Indies; besides near half a million due on extraordinary expence incurred by the land-forces in America, Flanders, and North-Britain, by the office of Ordnance, and other services of the last year, to which the parliamentary provision did not extend. The remaining debt of the Ordnance amounted to above two hundred and thirty thousand pounds: but the navy-bills could not be discharged for less than four millions. An addition of two millions three hundred and seventy-four thousand three hundred thirty-three pounds, fifteen shillings, and two-pence, was also required for the current service of the year. In a

word, the whole annual ſupply exceeded eight millions ſterling—a ſum at which the whole nation expreſſed equal aſtoniſhment and diſguſt. It was charged upon the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, the land-tax at four ſhillings in the pound, annuities on the ſinking-fund, an application of one million from that depoſit, and the loan of the like ſum to be charged on the firſt aids of next ſeſſion. The number of ſeamen was reduced to ſeventeen thouſand, and that of the land-forces to eighteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſeven, including guards and garriſons.

§ VII. Every article of expence, however, was warmly diſputed by the anti-courtiers; eſpecially the demand of the Queen of Hungary, which was deemed unreaſonablé, exorbitant, and rapacious, conſidering the ſeas of blood which we had ſhed, and the immenſity of treaſure we had exhauſted for her benefit: and ſurely the ſubjects of this nation had ſome reaſon to complain of an indulgence of this nature, granted to a power which they had literally ſnatched from the brink of ruin—a power whoſe quarrel they had eſpouſed with a degree of enthuſiaſm that did much more honour to their gallantry than to their diſcretion—a power that kept aloof, with a ſtatelineſs of pride peculiar to herſelf and family; and beheld her Britiſh auxiliaries fighting her battles at their own expence; while ſhe ſquandered away, in the idle pageantry of barbarous magnificence, thoſe ample ſubſidies which they advanced in order to maintain their armies, and furniſh out her proportion of the war. The leaders of the oppoſition neglected no opportunity of embittering the triumphs of their adverſaries: they inveighed againſt the extravagance of granting ſixteen thouſand pounds for the pay of general and ſtaff officers, during a peace that required no ſuch eſtabliſhment, eſpecially at a juncture when the national incumbrances rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to practice every expedient of œconomy.

BOOK III. 1748. œconomy. They even combated the requeſt of the city of Glaſgow, to be indemnified for the extraordinary exaction it underwent from the rebels, though it appeared from unqueſtionable evidence, that this extraordinary contribution was exacted on account of that city's peculiar attachment to the reigning family: that it had always invariably adhered to Revolution principles; and, with an unequalled ſpirit of loyalty and zeal for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, diſtinguiſhed itſelf both in the laſt and preceding rebellion.

§ VIII. But the moſt violent conteſt aroſe on certain regulations which the miniſtry wanted to eſtabliſh in two bills, relating to the ſea and land ſervice. The firſt, under the title of a bill for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of Parliament the laws relating to the navy, was calculated ſolely with a view of ſubjecting half-pay officers to martial law—a deſign which not only furniſhed the oppoſition with a plauſible handle for accuſing the miniſters, as intending to encroach upon the conſtitution, in order to extend the influence of the Crown; but alſo alarmed the ſea-officers to ſuch a degree, that they aſſembled to a conſiderable number, with a view to deliberate upon the proper means of defending their privileges and liberties from invaſion. The reſult of their conſultations was a petition to the Houſe of Commons, ſubſcribed by three Admirals and forty-ſeven Captains, not members of Parliament, repreſenting, That the bill in agitation contained ſeveral clauſes, tending to the injury and diſhonour of all naval officers, as well as to the detriment of his Majeſty's ſervice; and that the laws already in force had been always found effectual for ſecuring the ſervice of officers on half-pay upon the moſt preſſing occaſions: they, therefore, hoped, that they ſhould not be ſubjected to new hardſhips and diſcouragements; and begged to be heard by their counſel, before the committee of the

the whole Houſe, touching ſuch parts of the bill as they apprehended would be injurious to themſelves and the other officers of his Majeſty's navy. This petition was preſented to the Houſe by Sir John Norris, and the motion for its being read was ſeconded by Sir Peter Warren, whoſe character was univerſally eſteemed and beloved in the nation. This meaſure had like to have produced very ſerious conſequences. Many commanders and ſubalterns had repaired to the Admiralty, and threatened, in plain terms, to throw up their commiſſions in caſe the bill ſhould paſs into a law; and a general ferment was begun among all the ſubordinate members of the navy. A motion was made, That the petitioners, according to their requeſt, ſhould be heard by their counſel; and this propoſal was ſtrongly urged by the firſt orators of the anti-miniſterial aſſociation; but the miniſter, confiding in his own ſtrength, reinforced by the abilities of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Littelton, and Mr. Fox the Secretary at War, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the motion, which, upon a diviſion, was thrown out by a great majority. The ſeveral articles of the bill were afterwards ſeparately debated with great warmth; and though Mr. Pelham had, with the moſt diſintereſted air of candour, repeatedly declared that he required no ſupport even from his own adherents, but that which might ariſe from reaſon unreſtrained, and full conviction, he, on this occaſion, reaped all the fruit from their zeal and attachment which could be expected from the moſt implicit complaiſance. Some plauſible amendments of the moſt exceptionable clauſes were offered, particularly of that which impoſed an oath upon the members, of every court-martial, that they ſhould not, on any account, diſcloſe the opinions or tranſactions of any ſuch tribunal. This was conſidered as a ſanction, under which any court-martial might commit the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion, which even Parliament itſelf could not redreſs,

BOOK III. 1748. redreſs, becauſe it would be impoſſible to aſcertain the truth, eternally ſealed up by this abſurd obligation. The amendment propoſed was, that the member of a court-martial might reveal the tranſactions and opinions of it, in all caſes wherein the courts of juſtice, as the law now ſtands, have a right to interfere, if required thereto by either Houſe of Parliament: a very reaſonable mitigation, which, however, was rejected by the majority. Nevertheleſs, the ſuſpicion of an intended encroachment had raiſed ſuch a clamour without doors, and diffuſed the odium of this meaſure ſo generally, that the miniſter thought proper to drop the projected article of war, ſubjecting the reformed officers of the navy to the juriſdictions of courts-martial; and the bill being alſo ſoftened in other particulars, during its paſſage through the Upper-Houſe, at length received the Royal aſſent.

§ IX. The flame which this act had kindled, was rather increaſed than abated on the appearance of a new mutiny-bill replete with divers innovations, tending to augment the influence of the Crown, as well as the authority and power of a military juriſdiction. All the articles of war eſtabliſhed ſince the reign of Charles the Second, were ſubmitted to the inſpection of the Commons; and in theſe appeared a gradual ſpirit of encroachment, almoſt imperceptibly deviating from the civil inſtitutes of the Engliſh conſtitution, towards the eſtabliſhment of a military dominion. By this new bill a power was veſted in any commander in chief, to reviſe and correct any legal ſentence of a court-martial, by which the members of ſuch a court, correſponding with the nature of a civil jury, were rendered abſolutely uſeleſs, and the commander in a great meaſure abſolute; for he had not only the power of ſummoning ſuch officers as he might chooſe to ſit on any trial, a prerogative unknown to any civil court of judicature; but he was alſo at liberty to review

and

and alter the ſentence; ſo that a man was ſubject to two trials for the ſame offence, and the commander in chief was judge both of the guilt and the puniſhment. By the final clauſe of this bill, martial law was extended to all officers on half-pay; and the ſame arguments which had been urged againſt this article in the navy-bill, were now repeated and reinforced with doubled fervour. Many reaſons were offered to prove that the half-pay was allotted as a recompence for paſt ſervice; and the opponents of the bill affirmed, that ſuch an article, by augmenting the dependents of the Crown, might be very dangerous to the conſtitution. On the other hand, the partiſans of the miniſtry aſſerted, that the half-pay was granted as a retaining fee; and that originally all thoſe who enjoyed this indulgence were deemed to be in actual ſervice, conſequently ſubject to martial law. Mr. Pitt, who at this time exerciſed the office of Paymaſter-General with a rigour of integrity unknown to the moſt diſintereſted of all his predeceſſors in that department, eſpouſed the clauſe in diſpute, as a neceſſary extenſion of military diſcipline, which could never be attended with any bad conſequence to the liberty of the nation. The remarks which he made on this occaſion, implied an opinion that our liberties wholly exiſted in dependence upon the direction of the Sovereign, and the virtue of the army. "To that virtue (ſaid he) "we truſt even at this hour, ſmall as our army is— "to that virtue we muſt have truſted, had this bill "been modelled as its warmeſt oppoſers could have "wiſhed; and without this virtue, ſhould the Lords, "the Commons, and the People of England en"trench themſelves behind parchment up to the "teeth, the ſword will find a paſſage to the vitals of "the conſtitution." All the diſputed articles of the bill being ſuſtained on the ſhoulders of a great majority, it was conveyed to the Upper Houſe, where it excited another violent conteſt. Upon the queſ-

BOOK III. 1748.

tion whether officers on half-pay had not been ſubject to martial law, the judges were conſulted and divided in their ſentiments. The Earl of Bath declared his opinion, that martial law did not extend to reformed officers: and opened all the ſluices of his ancient eloquence. He admitted a caſe which was urged, of ſeven officers on half-pay, who, being taken in actual rebellion at Preſton, in the year 1715, had been executed on the ſpot by martial law, in conſequence of the King's expreſs order. He candidly owned, that he himſelf was Secretary at War at that period; that he had approved of this order, and even tranſmitted it to General Carpenter, who commanded at Preſton; but now his opinion was entirely changed. He obſerved, that when the forementioned rebellion firſt broke out, the Houſe preſented an addreſs to the King, deſiring his Majeſty would be pleaſed to employ all half-pay officers, and gratify them with whole pay; and, indeed, all ſuch officers were voted on whole pay, by the Houſe of Commons. They were afterwards appriſed of this vote, by an advertiſement in the Gazette, and ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs to repair to ſuch places as ſhould be appointed; and finally commanded to repair by ſuch a day to thoſe places, on pain of being ſtruck off the half-pay liſt. Theſe precautions would have been unneceſſary, had they been deemed ſubject to martial law; and the penalty for non-obedience would not have been merely a privation of their penſions, but they would have fallen under the puniſhment of death, as deſerters from the ſervice. His Lordſhip diſtinguiſhed, with great propriety and preciſion, between a ſtep which had been precipitately taken in a violent criſis, when the publick was heated with apprehenſion and reſentment, and a ſolemn law concerted at leiſure, during the moſt profound tranquillity. Notwithſtanding the ſpirited oppoſition of this nobleman, and ſome attempts to inſert additional

clauſes,

clauses, the bill having undergone a few inconsiderable amendments, passed by a very considerable majority.

§ X. Immediately after the mutiny-bill had passed the Lower House, another fruitless effort was made by the opposition. The danger of a standing army, on whose virtue the constitution of Great-Britain seemed to depend, did not fail to alarm the minds of many who were zealously attached to the liberties of their country, and gave birth to a scheme, which, if executed, would have enabled the legislature to established a militia that must have answered many national purposes, and acted as a constitutional bulwark against the excesses and ambition of a military standing force, under the immediate influence of government. The scheme which patriotism conceived, was, in all probability, adopted by party. A bill was brought in, limiting the time beyond which no soldier, or non-commissioned officer, should be compelled to continue in the service. Had this limitation taken place, such a rotation of soldiers would have ensued among the common people, that in a few years every peasant, labourer, and inferior tradesman in the kingdom would have understood the exercise of arms: and perhaps the people in general would have concluded that a standing army was altogether unnecessary. A project of this nature could not, for obvious reasons, be agreeable to the administration, and therefore the bill was rendered abortive; for, after having been twice read, it was postponed from time to time, till the Parliament was prorogued, and never appeared in the sequel. Such were the chief subjects of debate between the ministry and the opposition, composed, as we have already observed, of the Prince's servants and the remains of the country party, this last being headed by Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, and Sir Francis Dashwood; the former, a nobleman of distinguished abilities, keen, penetrating,

BOOK III. 1748. ting, eloquent, and ſagacious; the other frank, ſpirited, and ſenſible.

§ XI. It muſt be owned, however, for the honour of the miniſtry, that if they carried a few unpopular meaſures with a high hand, they ſeemed earneſtly deſirous of making amends to the nation, by promoting divers regulations for the benefit and improvement of commerce, which actually took place in the enſuing ſeſſion of Parliament. One of the principal objects of this nature which fell under their cognizance, was the trade to the coaſt of Guinea; a very important branch of traffick, whether conſidered as a market for Britiſh manufactures, or as the ſource that ſupplied the Engliſh plantations with negroes. This was originally monopoliſed by a joint ſtock company, which had from time to time derived conſiderable ſums from the legiſlature, for enabling them the better to ſupport certain forts or caſtles on the coaſt of Africa, to facilitate the commerce and protect the merchants. In the ſequel, however, the excluſive privilege having been judged prejudicial to the national trade, the coaſt was laid open to all Britiſh ſubjects indiſcriminately, on condition of their paying a certain duty towards defraying the expence of the forts and factories. This expedient did not anſwer the purpoſes for which it had been contrived. The ſeparate traders, inſtead of receiving any benefit from the protection of the company, induſtriouſly avoided their caſtles, as the receptacles of tyranny and oppreſſion. The company, whether from the miſconduct or knavery of their directors, contracted ſuch a load of debts as their ſtock was unable to diſcharge. They ſeemed to neglect the traffick, and allowed the caſtles to decay. In a word, their credit being exhauſted, and their creditors growing clamorous, they preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons, diſcloſing their diſtreſſes, and imploring ſuch aſſiſtance as ſhould enable them not only to pay their debts,

but

but alſo to maintain the forts in a defenſible condition. This petition recommended to the Houſe in a meſſage from his Majeſty, was corroborated by another in behalf of the company's creditors. Divers merchants of London, intereſted in the trade of Africa and the Britiſh plantations in America, petitioned the Houſe, that, as the African trade was of the utmoſt importance to the nation, and could not be ſupported without forts and ſettlements, ſome effectual means ſhould be ſpeedily taken for protecting and extending this valuable branch of commerce. A fourth was offered by the merchants of Liverpool, repreſenting that the ſecurity and protection of the trade to Africa muſt always principally depend upon his Majeſty's ſhips of war being properly ſtationed on that coaſt, and ſeaſonably relieved, and that ſuch forts and ſettlements as might be judged neceſſary for marks of ſovereignty and poſſeſſion, would prove a nuiſance and a burthen to the trade, ſhould they remain in the hands of any joint-ſtock company, whoſe private intereſt always had been, and ever would be, found incompatible with the intereſt of the ſeparate and open trader. They therefore prayed, that the ſaid forts might either be taken into his Majeſty's immediate poſſeſſion, and ſupported by the publick, or committed to the merchants trading on that coaſt, in ſuch a manner as the Houſe ſhould judge expedient, without veſting in them any other advantage, or right to the commerce, but what ſhould be common to all his Majeſty's ſubjects. This remonſtrance was ſucceeded by another, to the ſame effect, from the maſter, wardens, aſſiſtants, and commonalty of the ſociety of merchant adventurers within the city of Briſtol. All theſe petitions were referred to a committee appointed to deliberate on this ſubject; who agreed to certain reſolutions, implying, That the trade to Africa ſhould be free and open; That the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on that coaſt ought to be maintained, and put under proper direction;

BOOK III. 1748. direction; and, That in order to carry on the African trade in the most beneficial manner to these kingdoms, all the British subjects trading to Africa should be united in one open company, without any joint-stock, or power to trade as a corporation. A bill was immediately founded on these resolutions, which alarmed the company to such a degree, that they had recourse to another petition, demonstrating their right to the coast of Africa, and expressing their reliance on the justice of the House that they should not be deprived of their property without an adequate consideration.* In a few days a second address was offered by their creditors complaining of the Company's mismanagement, promising to surrender their right, as the wisdom of Parliament should prescribe; praying that their debts might be enquired into; and that the equivalent to be granted for the Company's possessions might be secured and applied, in the first place, for their benefit. The Commons, in consequence of this petition, ordered the Company to produce a list of their debts, together with a copy of their charter, and two remonstrances, which their creditors had presented to them before this application to Parliament. A committee of the whole House, having deliberated on these papers and petitions, and heard the Company by their counsel, resolved to give them a reasonable compensation for their charter, lands, forts, settlements, slaves, and effects, to be, in the first place, applied towards the payment of their creditors. A bill being formed accordingly, passed the Commons, and was conveyed to the Upper House, where a great many objections were started; and for the present it was dropped, until a more unexceptionable plan should be concerted. In the mean time their Lordships addressed his Majesty, That the Lords Commissioners for trade and plantations might be directed to prepare a scheme on this subject, to be laid before both Houses of Parliament at the beginning

ginning of next ſeſſion: That inſtant orders ſhould be given for preſerving and ſecuring the forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea belonging to Great-Britain; and, That proper perſons ſhould be appointed to examine into the condition of thoſe forts, as well as of the military ſtores, ſlaves, and veſſels belonging to the African company, ſo as to make a faithful report of theſe particulars, with all poſſible expedition.

§ XII. The miniſtry having profeſſed an inclination, and indeed ſhown a diſpoſition, to promote and extend the commerce of the kingdom, the Commons reſolved to take ſome ſteps for encouraging the white fiſhery along the northern coaſt of the iſland, which is an inexhauſtible ſource of wealth to our induſtrious neighbours the Dutch, who employ annually a great number of hands and veſſels in this branch of commerce. The ſenſible part of the Britiſh people, reflecting on this ſubject, plainly foreſaw that a fiſhery under due regulations, undertaken with the protection and encouragement of the legiſlature, would not only prove a fund of national riches, and a nurſery of ſeamen; but likewiſe, in a great meaſure, prevent any future inſurrections in the Highlands of Scotland, by diffuſing a ſpirit of induſtry among the natives of that country, who finding it in their power to become independent, on the fruits of their own labour, would ſoon infranchiſe themſelves from that ſlaviſh attachment, by which they had been ſo long connected with their landlords and chieftains. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to deliberate on the ſtate of the Britiſh fiſhery; and upon their report a bill was founded for encouraging the whale fiſhery on the coaſt of Spitſbergen, by a bounty of forty ſhillings per ton for every ſhip equipped for that undertaking. The bill having made its way through both Houſes, and obtained the Royal aſſent, the merchants in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in North-Britain, began

BOOK III. 1748.

began to build and fit out ſhips of great burthen, and peculiar ſtructure, for the purpoſe of that fiſhery, which ever ſince hath been carried on with equal vigour and ſucceſs. Divers merchants and traders of London having preſented to the Houſe of Commons a petition, repreſenting the benefits that would accrue to the community from a herring and cod fiſhery, eſtabliſhed on proper principles, and carried on with ſkill and integrity, this remonſtrance was referred to a committee, upon whoſe reſolutions a bill was formed; but, before this could be diſcuſſed in the Houſe, the Parliament was prorogued, and of conſequence this meaſure proved abortive.

§ XIII. The next regulation propoſed in favour of trade, was that of laying open the commerce of Hudſon's-Bay, in the moſt northern parts of America, where a ſmall monopoly maintained a few forts and ſettlements, and proſecuted a very advantageous fur-trade with the Indians of that continent. It was ſuggeſted, that the company had long ago enriched themſelves by their excluſive privilege; that they employed no more than four annual ſhips; that, contrary to an expreſs injunction in their charter, they diſcouraged all attempts to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies; that they dealt cruelly and perfidiouſly with the poor Indians, who never traded with them, except when compelled by neceſſity, ſo that the beſt part of the fur-trade had devolved to the enemies of Great-Britain; and that their excluſive patent reſtricted to very narrow limits a branch of commerce, which might be cultivated to a prodigious extent, as well as to the infinite advantage of Great-Britain. Petitions, that the trade of Hudſon's-Bay might be laid open, were preſented to the Houſe by the merchants of London, Great Yarmouth, and Wolverhampton; and a committee was appointed to deliberate upon this ſubject. On the other hand, the company exerted themſelves

themselves in petitions and private applications for their own preservation. The committee examined many papers and records; and the report was taken into consideration by the whole House. Many evidences were interrogated, and elaborate speeches made, on both sides of the question. At length a majority seemed satisfied that the traffick on the coast of Hudson's-Bay could not be preserved without forts and settlements, which must be maintained either by an exclusive company, or at the publick expence; and, as this was not judged a proper juncture to encumber the nation with any charge of that kind, the design of dissolving the company was laid aside till a more favourable opportunity.

CHAP. I.

1748.

§ XIV. The government had during the war, found great difficulty in pressing men for the service of the navy—a practice, which, however sanctioned by necessity, is nevertheless a flagrant encroachment on the liberty of the subject, and a violent outrage against the constitution of Great-Britain. The ministry, therefore, had employed some of their agents to form a scheme for retaining in time of peace, by means of a certain allowance, a number of seamen, who should be registered for the purpose, and be ready to man a squadron upon any emergency. Such a plan, properly regulated, would have been a great advantage to commerce, which is always distressed by the practice of pressing seamen; and at the same time, a great security to the kingdom in dangerous conjunctures, when it may be necessary to equip an armament at a minute's warning. The House of Commons being moved upon this subject, agreed to divers resolutions, as a foundation for the bill; but the members in the opposition affecting to represent this measure in an odious light, as an imitation of the French method of registering seamen without their own consent, Mr. Pelham dropped it, as an unpopular project.

§ XV.

[library stamp, partly legible]

BOOK II. 1748.

§ XV. Information having been received, that the French intended to ſettle the neutral iſlands of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago in the Weſt-Indies, the nation had taken the alarm in the beginning of the year; and a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons to addreſs his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions for laying before the Houſe copies of the inſtructions given to the Governors of Barbadoes for ten years laſt paſt, ſo far as they related to theſe neutral iſlands: but whether the miniſter was conſcious of a neglect in this particular, or thought ſuch enquiries trenched upon the prerogative, he oppoſed the motion with all his might; and after ſome debate, the previous queſtion paſſed in the negative. This was alſo the fate of another motion made by the Earl of E—t for an addreſs, entreating his Majeſty would ſubmit to the inſpection of the Houſe all the propoſals of peace that had been made by the French King ſince the year which preceded the laſt rebellion, to that in which the definitive treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. This they propoſed as a previous ſtep to the Parliament's forming any opinion concerning the utility or neceſſity of the peace which had been eſtabliſhed. Violent debates enſued, in which the oppoſition was as much excelled in oratory as out-numbered in votes. Such were the material tranſactions of this ſeſſion, which in the motion of June was cloſed as uſual with a ſpeech from the throne; in which his Majeſty ſignified his hope, that the Parliament, at their next meeting, would be able to perfect what they had now begun for advancing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. He likewiſe expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing publick credit flouriſh at the end of an expenſive war; and recommended unanimity, as the ſureſt bulwark of national ſecurity.

§ XVI. While the miniſtry, on ſome occaſions, exhibited all the external ſigns of moderation and good

good humour; they, on others, manifested a spirit of jealousy and resentment, which seems to have been childish and illiberal. Two or three young riotous students at Oxford, trained up in prejudice, and heated with intemperance, uttered some expressions, over their cups, implying their attachment to the family of the Pretender. The report of this indiscretion was industriously circulated by certain worthless individuals, who, having no reliance on their own intrinsick merit, hoped to distinguish themselves as the tools of party, and to obtain favour with the ministry by acting as volunteers in the infamous practice of information. Though neither the rank, age, nor connexions of the delinquents were such as ought to have attracted the notice of the publick, the Vice-Chancellor, heads of houses, and proctors of the university, knowing the invidious scrutiny to which their conduct was subjected, thought proper to publish a declaration, signifying their abhorrence of all seditious practices, their determined resolution to punish all offenders to the utmost severity and rigour of the statutes; and containing peremptory orders for the regulation of the university. Notwithstanding these wise and salutary precautions, the three boys, who in the heat of their intoxication, had drunk the Pretender's health, were taken into custody by a messenger of State; and two of them being tried in the court of King's Bench, and found guilty, were sentenced to walk through the courts of Westminster, with a specification of their crime fixed to their foreheads; to pay a fine of five nobles each; to be imprisoned for two years, and find security for their good behaviour for the term of seven years after their enlargement. Many people thought they saw the proceedings of the star-chamber revived in the severity of this punishment. The administration, not yet satisfied with the vengeance which had been taken on these three striplings, seemed determined to stigmatize the

CHAP. I.

1748.

BOOK III. 1748. the univerſity to which they belonged. The cry of Jacobitiſm was loudly trumpeted againſt the whole community. The addreſs of the univerſity, congratulating his Majeſty on the eſtabliſhment of the peace, was rejected with diſdain, and an attempt was made to ſubject their ſtatutes to the inſpection of the King's council; but this rule, being argued in the court of King's Bench, was diſmiſſed, in conſequence of the opinions given by the judges. Finally, the ſame tribunal granted an information againſt Dr. Purnel, the Vice-Chancellor, for his behaviour in the caſe of the rioters above-mentioned: but this was countermanded in the ſequel, his conduct appearing unexceptionable upon a more cool and impartial enquiry.

§ XVII. In proportion as Oxford declined, her ſiſter univerſity roſe in the favour of the adminiſtration, which ſhe at this period cultivated by an extraordinary mark of compliance and attachment. The dignity of Chancellor of the univerſity being vacated by the death of the Duke of Somerſet, the nation in general ſeemed to think it would naturally devolve upon the Prince of Wales, as a compliment at all times due to that rank; but more eſpecially to the then heir apparent, who had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the virtues of a patriot and a Prince. He had even pleaſed himſelf with the hope of receiving this mark of attachment from a ſeminary for which he entertained a particular regard. But the ruling members, ſeeing no immediate proſpect of advantage in glorifying even a Prince, who was at variance with the miniſtry, wiſely turned their eyes upon the illuſtrious character of the Duke of Newcaſtle, whom they elected without oppoſition, and inſtalled with great magnificence; learning, poetry, and eloquence, joining their efforts in celebrating the ſhining virtues and extraordinary talents of their new patron.

§ XVIII.

§ XVIII. Although oppofition lay gafping at the feet of power in the Houfe of Commons, the people of England did not yet implicitly approve all the meafures of the adminiftration; and the dregs of faction, ftill agitated by an internal ferment, threw up fome ineffectual bubbles in different parts of the kingdom. Some of thofe who made no fecret of their difaffection to the reigning family determined to manifeft their refentment and contempt of certain noblemen, and others, who were faid to have abandoned their ancient principles, and to have facrificed their confciences to their intereft. Many individuals, animated by the fumes of inebriation, now loudly extolled that caufe which they durft not avow when it required their open approbation and affiftance; and, though they induftrioufly avoided expofing their lives and fortunes to the chance of war in promoting their favourite intereft when there was a poffibility of fuccefs, they betrayed no apprehenfion in celebrating the memory of its laft effort, amidft the tumult of a riot, and the clamours of intemperance. In the neighbourhood of Lichfield the fportfmen of the party appeared in the Highland tafte of variegated drapery; and their zeal defcending to a very extraordinary exhibition of practical ridicule, they hunted with hounds clothed in plaid, a fox dreffed in a red uniform. Even the females at their affembly, and the gentlemen at the races, affected to wear the chequered ftuff by which the Prince Pretender and his followers had been diftinguifhed. Divers noblemen on the courfe were infulted as apoftates, and one perfonage of high rank, is faid to have undergone a very difagreeable flagellation.

§ XIX. As the publick generally fuffers at the end of a war, by the fudden difmiffion of a great number of foldiers and feamen, who having contracted a habit of idlenefs, and finding themfelves without employment and the means of fubfiftence, engage

BOOK III. 1748. engage in desperate courses, and prey upon the community, it was judged expedient to provide an opening, through which these unquiet spirits might exhale without damage to the commonwealth. The most natural was that of encouraging them to become members of a new colony in North-America, which, by being properly regulated, supported, and improved, might be the source of great advantages to its mother country. Many disputes had arisen between the subjects of England and France, concerning the limits of Nova-Scotia, which no treaty had as yet properly ascertained. A fort had been raised, and a small garrison maintained, by the King of Great-Britain, at a part of this very country, called Annapolis-Royal, to overawe the French neutrals settled in the neighbourhood: but this did not answer the purpose for which it was intended. Upon every rupture or dispute between the two crowns, these planters, forgetting their neutrality, intrigued with the Indians, communicated intelligence to their own countrymen settled at St. John's and Cape Breton, and did all the ill offices their hatred could suggest against the colonies and subjects of Great-Britain. A scheme was now formed for making a new establishment on the same peninsula, which should further confirm and extend the property and dominion of the Crown of Great-Britain in that large tract of country, clear the uncultivated grounds, constitute communities, diffuse the benefits of population and agriculture, and improve the fishery of that coast, which might be rendered a new source of wealth and commerce to Old England. The particulars of the plan being duly considered, it was laid before his Majesty, who approved of the design, and referred the execution of it to the board of trade and plantations, over which the Earl of Hallifax presided. This nobleman, endued by nature with an excellent capacity, which had been diligently and judiciously cultivated, animated with liberal

liberal ſentiments, and fired with an eager ſpirit of patriotiſm, adopted the plan with the moſt generous ardour, and cheriſhed the infant colony with paternal affection. The commiſſioners for trade and plantations immediately advertiſed, under the ſanction of his Majeſty's authority, That proper encouragement would be given to ſuch of the officers and private men, lately diſmiſſed from the land and ſea ſervice, as were willing to ſettle with or without families, in the province of Nova-Scotia: That the fee-ſimple, or perpetual property of fifty acres of land ſhould be granted to every private ſoldier or ſeaman, free from the payment of any quit-rents or taxes, for the term of ten years; at the expiration of which no perſon ſhould pay more than one ſhilling per annum for every fifty acres ſo granted: That over and above theſe fifty, each perſon ſhould receive a grant of ten acres for every individual, including women and children, of which his family ſhould conſiſt: That further grants ſhould be made to them as the number ſhould increaſe, and in proportion as they ſhould manifeſt their abilities in agriculture: That every officer, under the rank of enſign in the land-ſervice, or lieutenant in the navy, ſhould be gratified with four-ſcore acres on the ſame conditions: That two hundred acres ſhould be beſtowed upon enſigns, three hundred upon lieutenants, four hundred upon captains, and ſix hundred on every officer above that degree, with proportionable conſiderations for the number and increaſe of every family: That the lands ſhould be parcelled out as ſoon as poſſible after the arrival of the coloniſts, and a civil government eſtabliſhed; by virtue of which they ſhould enjoy all the liberties and privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, with proper ſecurity and protection: That the ſettlers, with their families, ſhould be conveyed to Nova-Scotia, and maintained for twelve months after their arrival at the expence of the government; which

BOOK II. 1748. which ſhould alſo ſupply them with arms and ammunition, as far as ſhould be judged neceſſary for their defence, with proper materials and utenſils for clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, exerciſing the fiſhery, and ſuch other purpoſes as ſhould be judged neceſſary for their ſupport.

§ XX. The ſcheme was ſo feaſible, and the encouragement ſo inviting, that in a little time about four thouſand adventurers, with their families, were entered, according to the directions of the board of trade, who in the beginning of May ſet ſail from England, under the command of Colonel Cornwallis, whom the King had appointed their Governor, and towards the latter end of June arrived at the place of their deſtination, which was the harbour of Chebuctou, on the ſea-coaſt of the peninſula, about midway between Cape Canceau and Cape Sable. It is one of the moſt ſecure and commodious havens in the whole world, and well ſituated for the fiſhery: yet the climate is cold, the ſoil barren, and the whole country covered with woods of birch, fir, pine, and ſome oak, unfit for the purpoſes of timber; but at the ſame time extremely difficult to remove and extirpate. Governor Cornwallis no ſooner arrived in this harbour than he was joined by two regiments of infantry from Cape Breton, and a company of rangers from Annapolis. Then he pitched upon a ſpot for the ſettlement, and employed his people in clearing the ground for laying the foundations of a town; but ſome inconveniences being diſcovered in this ſituation, he choſe another to the northward, hard by the harbour, on an eaſy aſcent, commanding a proſpect of the whole peninſula, and well ſupplied with rivulets of freſh and wholeſome water. Here he began to build a town on a regular plan, to which he gave the name of Hallifax, in honour of the nobleman who had the greateſt ſhare in founding the colony; and before the

the approach of winter above three hundred comfortable wooden houses were built, the whole surrounded by a strong pallisade. This colony, however, has by no means answered the sanguine expectations of the projectors; for notwithstanding the ardour with which the interests of it were promoted by its noble patron, and the repeated indulgence it has reaped from the bounty of the legislature, the inhabitants have made little or no progress in agriculture: the fishery is altogether neglected, and the settlement entirely subsists on the sums expended by the individuals of the army and navy, whose duty obliges them to reside in this part of North-America.

§ XXI. The establishment of such a powerful colony in Nova-Scotia, could not fail giving umbrage to the French in that neighbourhood, who, though they did not think proper to promulgate their jealousy and disgust, nevertheless employed their emissaries clandestinely in stimulating and exciting the Indians to harass the colonists with hostilities, in such a manner as should effectually hinder them from extending their plantations, and perhaps induce them to abandon the settlement. Nor was this the only part of America in which the French Court countenanced such perfidious practices. More than ever convinced of the importance of a considerable navy, and an extensive plantation trade, they not only exerted uncommon industry in re-establishing their marine, which had suffered so severely during the war; but they resolved, if possible, to extend their plantations, in the West-Indies, by settling the neutral islands, which we have already mentioned. In the beginning of the year the Governor of Barbadoes, having received intelligence that the French had begun to settle the island of Tobago, sent Captain Tyrrel thither in a frigate, to learn the particulars. That officer found above three hundred men already landed, secured by two batteries and

BOOK II. 1748.

which ſhould alſo ſupply them with arms and ammunition, as far as ſhould be judged neceſſary for their defence, with proper materials and utenſils for clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, exerciſing the fiſhery, and ſuch other purpoſes as ſhould be judged neceſſary for their ſupport.

§ XX. The ſcheme was ſo feaſible, and the encouragement ſo inviting, that in a little time about four thouſand adventurers, with their families, were entered, according to the directions of the board of trade, who in the beginning of May ſet ſail from England, under the command of Colonel Cornwallis, whom the King had appointed their Governor, and towards the latter end of June arrived at the place of their deſtination, which was the harbour of Chebuctou, on the ſea-coaſt of the peninſula, about midway between Cape Canceau and Cape Sable. It is one of the moſt ſecure and commodious havens in the whole world, and well ſituated for the fiſhery: yet the climate is cold, the ſoil barren, and the whole country covered with woods of birch, fir, pine, and ſome oak, unfit for the purpoſes of timber; but at the ſame time extremely difficult to remove and extirpate. Governor Cornwallis no ſooner arrived in this harbour than he was joined by two regiments of infantry from Cape Breton, and a company of rangers from Annapolis. Then he pitched upon a ſpot for the ſettlement, and employed his people in clearing the ground for laying the foundations of a town; but ſome inconveniences being diſcovered in this ſituation, he choſe another to the northward, hard by the harbour, on an eaſy aſcent, commanding a proſpect of the whole peninſula, and well ſupplied with rivulets of freſh and wholeſome water. Here he began to build a town on a regular plan, to which he gave the name of Hallifax, in honour of the nobleman who had the greateſt ſhare in founding the colony; and before the

the approach of winter above three hundred comfortable wooden houſes were built, the whole ſurrounded by a ſtrong palliſade. This colony, however, has by no means anſwered the ſanguine expectations of the projectors; for notwithſtanding the ardour with which the intereſts of it were promoted by its noble patron, and the repeated indulgence it has reaped from the bounty of the legiſlature, the inhabitants have made little or no progreſs in agriculture: the fiſhery is altogether neglected, and the ſettlement entirely ſubſiſts on the ſums expended by the individuals of the army and navy, whoſe duty obliges them to reſide in this part of North-America.

§ XXI. The eſtabliſhment of ſuch a powerful colony in Nova-Scotia, could not fail giving umbrage to the French in that neighbourhood, who, though they did not think proper to promulgate their jealouſy and diſguſt, nevertheleſs employed their emiſſaries clandeſtinely in ſtimulating and exciting the Indians to haraſs the coloniſts with hoſtilities, in ſuch a manner as ſhould effectually hinder them from extending their plantations, and perhaps induce them to abandon the ſettlement. Nor was this the only part of America in which the French Court countenanced ſuch perfidious practices. More than ever convinced of the importance of a conſiderable navy, and an extenſive plantation trade, they not only exerted uncommon induſtry in re-eſtabliſhing their marine, which had ſuffered ſo ſeverely during the war; but they reſolved, if poſſible, to extend their plantations, in the Weſt-Indies, by ſettling the neutral iſlands, which we have already mentioned. In the beginning of the year the Governor of Barbadoes, having received intelligence that the French had begun to ſettle the iſland of Tobago, ſent Captain Tyrrel thither in a frigate, to learn the particulars. That officer found above three hundred men already landed, ſecured by two batteries and

BOOK III. 1748. two ſhips of war, and in daily expectation of a further reinforcement from the Marquis de Caylus, Governor of Martinique; who had publiſhed an ordonnance, authoriſing the ſubjects of the French King to ſettle the iſland of Tobago, and promiſing to defend them from the attempts of all their enemies. This aſſurance was in anſwer to a proclamation iſſued by Mr. Grenville, Governor of Barbadoes, and ſtuck up in the different parts of the iſland, commanding all the inhabitants to remove, in thirty days, on pain of undergoing military execution. Captain Tyrrel, with a ſpirit that became a Commander in the Britiſh navy, gave the French officers to underſtand, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had no right to ſettle the iſland, which was declared neutral by treaties; and that, if they would not deſiſt he ſhould be obliged to employ force in driving them from their new ſettlement. Night coming on, and Mr. Tyrrel's ſhip falling to leeward, the French Captains ſeiſed that opportunity of ſailing to Martinique; and next day the Engliſh Commander returned to Barbadoes, having no power to commit hoſtilities. Theſe tidings, with a copy of the French Governor's ordonnance, were no ſooner tranſmitted to the miniſtry than they diſpatched a courier to the Engliſh Envoy at Paris, with directions to make repreſentations to the Court of Verſailles on this ſubject. The miniſtry of France, knowing they were in no condition to ſupport the conſequences of an immediate rupture, and underſtanding how much the merchants, and people of Great-Britain were alarmed and incenſed at their attempts to poſſeſs theſe iſlands, thought proper to diſown the proceedings of the Marquis de Caylus, and to grant the ſatisfaction that was demanded, by ſending him orders to diſcontinue the ſettlement, and evacuate the iſland of Tobago. At the ſame time, however, that the Court of Verſailles made this ſacrifice for the ſatisfaction of England, the Marquis de Puyſieux, the

the French minister, observed to the English resident, that France was undoubtedly in possession of that island towards the middle of the last century. He ought in candour to have added, that although Louis XIV. made a conquest of this island from the Hollanders, during his war with that republick, it was restored to them by the treaty of Nimeguen; and since that time France could not have the least shadow of a claim to number it among her settlements. It was before this answer could be obtained from the Court of Versailles that the motion, of which we have already taken notice, was made in the House of Commons, relating to the subject of the neutral islands; a motion discouraged by the Court, and defeated by the majority.

§ XXII. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was celebrated by fire-works, illuminations, and rejoicings, in which the English, French, and Dutch seemed to display a spirit of emulation, in point of taste and magnificence; and in all probability, these three Powers, were sincerely pleased at the cessation of the war. England enjoyed a respite from intolerable supplies, exorbitant insurance, and interrupted commerce: Holland was delivered from the brink of a French invasion; and France had obtained a breathing time for re-establishing her naval power, for exerting that spirit of intrigue, by dint of which she hath often embroiled her neighbours, and for executing plans of insensible encroachment, which might prove more advantageous than the progress of open hostilities. In the affair of Tobago the French King had manifested his inclination to avoid immediate disputes with England; and had exhibited another proof of the same disposition in his behaviour to the Prince-Pretender, who had excited such a dangerous rebellion in the island of Great-Britain.

§ XXIII. Among those Princes and Powers who excepted against different articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Chevalier de St. George, fore-

BOOK III. 1748.

seeing that none of the Plenipotentiaries would receive his protest, employed his agents to fix it up in the publick places of Aix-la-Chapelle; a precaution of very little service to his cause, which all the States of Christendom seemed now to have abandoned. So little was the interest of his family considered in this negociation, that the contracting Powers agreed, without reserve, to a literal insertion of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance; by which it was stipulated, that neither the Pretender nor any of his descendants should be allowed to reside within the territories belonging to any of the subscribing parties. At the same time the Plenipotentiaries of France promised to those of Great-Britain, that Prince Charles-Edward should be immediately obliged to quit the dominions of his Most Christian Majesty. Notice of this agreement was accordingly given by the Court of Versailles to the young Adventurer; and as he had declared he would never return to Italy, Monf. de Courteille, the French Envoy to the Cantons of Switzerland, was directed by his Sovereign to demand an asylum for Prince Edward in the City of Fribourg. The Regency having complied in this particular with the earnest request of his Most Christian Majesty, Mr. Barnaby, the British Minister to the Helvetick Body, took the alarm, and presented the Magistracy of Fribourg with a remonstrance, couched in such terms as gave offence to that Regency, and drew upon him a severe answer. In vain had the French King exerted his influence in procuring this retreat for the young Pretender, who, being pressed with repeated messages to withdraw, persisted in refusing to quit the place, to which he had been so cordially invited by his cousin the King of France; and where he said that Monarch had solemnly promised, on the word of a King, that he would never forsake him in his distress, nor abandon the interests of his family. Louis was not a little perplexed at this obstinacy of Prince Edward,

CHAP. I. 1748.

Edward, which was the more vexatious, as that youth appeared to be the darling of the Parisians; who not only admired him for his own accomplishments, and pitied him for his sufferings, but also revered him, as a young hero lineally descended from their renowned Henry the Fourth. At length, the two English noblemen arriving at Paris, as hostages for the performance of the treaty, and seeing him appear at all publick places of diversion, complained of this circumstance, as an insult to their Sovereign, and an infringement of the treaty so lately concluded. The French King, after some hesitation between punctilio and convenience, resolved to employ violence upon the person of this troublesome stranger, since milder remonstrances had not been able to influence his conduct: but this resolution was not taken till the return of a courier whom he dispatched to the Chevalier de St. George; who, being thus informed of his son's deportment, wrote a letter to him, laying strong injunctions upon him, to yield to the necessity of the times, and acquiesce with a good grace in the stipulations which his cousin of France had found it necessary to subscribe, for the interest of his realm. Edward, far from complying with this advice and injunction, signified his resolution to remain in Paris: and even declared, that he would pistol any man who should presume to lay violent hands on his person. In consequence of this bold declaration, an extraordinary council was held at Versailles, when it was determined to arrest him without further delay, and the whole plan of this enterprize was finally adjusted. That same evening, the Prince entering the narrow lane that leads to the Opera, the barrier was immediately shut, and the serjeant of the guard called "To arms;" on which Monsieur de Vaudreuil, exempt of the French guards, advancing to Edward, "Prince, (said "he) I arrest you in the King's name, by virtue of "this order." At that instant the youth was surrounded

BOOK III. 1748. rounded by four grenadiers, in order to prevent any mischief he might have done with a caſe of pocket-piſtols which he always carried about him; and a guard was placed at all the avenues and doors of the Opera-houſe, leſt any tumult ſhould have enſued among the populace. Theſe precautions being taken, Vaudreuil, with an eſcort, conducted the priſoner through the garden of the Palais-Royal to a houſe where the Duke de Biron waited with a coach and ſix to convey him to the caſtle of Vincennes, whither he was immediately accompanied by a detachment from the regiment of French guards, under the command of that nobleman. Had he not remained above three days in his confinement when he gave the French miniſtry to underſtand, that he would conform himſelf to the King's intentions; and was immediately enlarged, upon giving his word and honour that he would, without delay, retire from the dominions of France. Accordingly, he ſet out in four days from Fontainebleau, attended by three officers, who conducted him as far as Pont-Bauvoſin on the frontiers, where they took their leave of him, and returned to Verſailles. He proceeded for ſome time in the road to Chamberri; but ſoon returned into the French dominions, and, paſſing through Dauphiné, repaired to Avignon, where he was received with extraordinary honours by the Pope's legate. In the mean time, his arreſt excited great murmurings at Paris; the inhabitants blaming, without ſcruple, their King's conduct in this inſtance, as a ſcandalous breach of hoſpitality, as well as a mean proof of condeſcenſion to the King of England; and many ſevere paſquinades, relating to this tranſaction, were fixed up in the moſt publick place of that metropolis.

§ XXIV. Although peace was now re-eſtabliſhed among the principal Powers of the Continent, yet another ſtorm ſeemed ready to burſt upon the northern parts of Europe, in a freſh rupture between

Ruſſia

Ruſſia and Sweden. Whether the Czarina had actually obtained information that the French faction meditated ſome revolution of government at Stockholm, or ſhe wanted a pretence for annexing Finland to her empire; certain it is, ſhe affected to apprehend that the Prince-ſucceſſor of Sweden waited only for the deceaſe of the reigning King, who was very old and infirm, to change the form of government, and reſume that abſolute authority which ſome of the Monarchs, his predeceſſors, had enjoyed. She ſeemed to think that a Prince thus veſted with arbitrary power, and guided by the councils of France and Pruſſia, with which Sweden had lately engaged in cloſe alliance, might become a very troubleſome and dangerous neighbour to her in the Baltic: ſhe, therefore, recruited her armies, repaired her fortifications, filled her magazines, ordered a ſtrong body of troops to advance towards the frontiers of Finland, and declared in plain terms to the Court of Stockholm, That if any ſtep ſhould be taken to alter the government, which ſhe had bound herſelf by treaty to maintain, her troops ſhould enter the territory of Sweden, and ſhe would act up to the ſpirit of her engagements. The Swediſh miniſtry, alarmed at theſe peremptory proceedings, had recourſe to their allies; and, in the mean time, made repeated declarations to the Court of Peterſburgh, That there was no deſign to make the leaſt innovation in the nature of their eſtabliſhed government: but little or no regard being paid to theſe repreſentations, they began to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence; and the old King gave the Czarina to underſtand, That if, notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction he had offered, her forces ſhould paſs the frontiers of Finland, he would conſider their march as an hoſtile invaſion, and employ the means which God had put in his power for the defence of his dominions.

§ XXV. This declaration, in all probability, did not produce ſuch effect as the interpoſition of his

BOOK II. 1748. Pruſſian Majeſty, the moſt enterpriſing Prince of his time, at the head of one hundred and forty thouſand of the beſt troops that Germany ever trained. Perhaps he was not ſorry that the Empreſs of Muſcovy furniſhed him with a plauſible pretence for maintaining ſuch a formidable army, after the peace of Europe had been aſcertained by a formal treaty, and all the ſurrounding States had diminiſhed the number of their forces. He now wrote a letter to his uncle the King of Great-Britain, complaining of the inſults and menaces which had been offered by the Czarina to Sweden; declaring, that he was bound by a defenſive alliance, to which France had acceded, to defend the government at preſent eſtabliſhed in Sweden; and that he would not ſit ſtill, and tamely ſee that kingdom attacked by any power whatſoever, without acting up to his engagements: he therefore entreated his Britannick Majeſty to interpoſe his good offices, in conjunction with France and him, to compromiſe the diſputes which threatened to embroil the northern parts of Europe. By this time the Ruſſian army had approached the frontiers of Finland: the Swedes had aſſembled their troops, repleniſhed their magazines, and repaired the marine; and the King of Denmark, jealous of the Czarina's deſigns with regard to the duchy of Sleſwick, which was conteſted with him by the Prince-ſucceſſor of Ruſſia, kept his army and navy on the moſt reſpectable footing. At this critical juncture the Courts of London, Verſailles, and Berlin co-operated ſo effectually by remonſtrances and declarations at Peterſburgh and Stockholm, that the Empreſs of Ruſſia thought proper to own herſelf ſatisfied, and all thoſe clouds of trouble were immediately diſperſed. Yet, in all probability, her real aim was diſappointed; and, however ſhe might diſſemble her ſentiments, ſhe never heartily forgave the King of Pruſſia for the ſhare he had in this tranſaction. That Monarch, without relaxing in his attention to the

ſupport of a very formidable military power, exerted very extraordinary endeavours in cultivating the civil intereſts of his country. He reformed the laws of Brandenburgh, and reſcued the adminiſtration of juſtice from the frauds of chicanery. He encouraged the arts of agriculture and manufacture; and even laid the foundation of naval commerce, by eſtabliſhing an Eaſt-India company in the port of Embden.

§ XXVI. Nor did the French miniſtry neglect any meaſure that might contribute to repair the damage which the kingdom had ſuſtained in the courſe of the war. One half of the army was diſbanded: the ſevere oppoſition of the tenth penny was ſuſpended by the King's edict: a ſcheme of œconomy was propoſed, with reſpect to the finances; and the utmoſt diligence uſed in procuring materials, as well as workmen, for ſhip-building, that the navy of France might ſpeedily retrieve its former importance. In the midſt of theſe truly patriotick ſchemes, the Court of Verſailles betrayed a littleneſs of genius, and ſpirit of tyranny, joined to fanaticiſm, in quarrelling with their Parliament about ſuperſtitious forms of religion. The ſacraments had been denied to a certain perſon on his death bed, becauſe he refuſed to ſubſcribe to the bull Unigenitus. The nephew of the defunct preferred a complaint to the Parliament, whoſe province it was to take cognizance of the affair; a deputation of that body attended the King with the report of the reſolutions; and his Majeſty commanded them to ſuſpend all proceedings relating to a matter of ſuch conſequence, concerning which he would take an opportunity of ſignifying his royal pleaſure. This interpoſition was the ſource of diſputes between the Crown and Parliament, which had like to have filled the whole kingdom with inteſtine troubles.

§ XXVII. At Vienna the Empreſs-Queen was not more ſolicitous in promoting the trade and internal

BOOK III. 1748. ternal manufactures of her dominions, by amptuary regulations, necessary restrictions on foreign superfluities, by opening her ports in the Adriatick, and giving proper encouragement to commerce, than she was careful and provident in reforming the œconomy of her finances, maintaining a respectable body of forces, and guarding, by defensive alliances, against the enterprizes of his Prussian Majesty, on whose military power she looked with jealousy and distrust. In Holland, all the authority and influence of the Stadtholder were scarcely sufficient to allay the ferments excited among the people, by the provisional taxation which had succeeded the abolition of the pachters, and was indeed very grievous to the subject. As this was no more than a temporary expedient, the Prince of Orange proposed a more equitable plan, which was approved by the States, and established with great difficulty. In Italy the system of politicks seemed to change its complexion. The King of Sardinia effected a match between one of the Infantas of Spain and the Prince of Piedmont; and whether irritated by the conduct of the Austrians in the last war, or apprehensive of such a powerful neighbour in the Milanese, he engaged with the Kings of France and Spain in a defensive alliance, comprehending the King of the Two Sicilies, the Republick of Genoa, and the Dukes of Modena and Parma. His Most Catholick Majesty, sincerely disposed to cultivate the arts of peace, and encourage every measure that could contribute to the advantage of his country, was no sooner released from the embarrassments of war, than he began to execute plans of internal œconomy; to reduce unnecessary pensions, discharge the debts contracted in the war, replenish his arsenals, augment his navy, promote manufactures, and encourage an active commerce by sea, the benefits of which the kingdom of Spain had not known since the first discovery and conquest of the West-Indies.

§ XXVIII.

1748.

§ XXVIII. The preparations for refitting and increasing the navy of Spain were carried on with such extraordinary vigour, that other nations believed an expedition was intended against the corsairs of Algiers, who had for some time grievously infested the trade and coasts of the Mediterranean. The existence of this and other predatory republicks, which entirely subsist upon piracy and rapine, petty States of barbarous ruffians, maintained, as it were, in the midst of powerful nations, which they insult with impunity, and of which they even exact an annual contribution, is a flagrant reproach upon Christendom; a reproach the greater, as it is founded upon a low, selfish, illiberal maxim of policy. All the Powers that border on the Mediterranean, except France and Tuscany, are at perpetual war with the Moors of Barbary, and for that reason obliged to employ foreign ships for the transportation of their merchandize. This employment naturally devolves to those nations, whose vessels are in no danger from the depredations of the barbarians; namely, the subjects of the Maritime Powers, who, for this puny advantage, not only tolerate the piratical States of Barbary, but even supply them with arms and ammunition, solicit their passes, and purchase their forbearance with annual presents, which are, in effect, equivalent to a tribute: whereas, by one vigorous exertion of their power, they might destroy all their ships, lay their towns in ashes, and totally extirpate those pernicious broods of desperate banditti. Even all the condescension of those who disgrace themselves with the title of allies to these miscreants is not always sufficient to restrain them from acts of cruelty and rapine. At this very period four cruisers from Algiers, made a capture of an English packet-boat, in her voyage from Lisbon, and conveyed her to their city, where she was plundered of money and effects to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, and afterwards dismissed. In consequence

BOOK III. 1748. of this outrage, Commodore Keppel was ſent with ſeven ſhips of war to demand ſatisfaction, as well as to compromiſe certain differences which had ariſen on account of arrears claimed of the Engliſh by the Dey of Algiers. The Muſſulman frankly owned, that the money having been divided among the captors could not poſſibly be refunded. The Commodore returned to Gibraltar; and, in the ſequel, an Algerine Ambaſſador arrived in London, with ſome preſents of wild beaſts for his Britannick Majeſty. This tranſaction was ſucceeded by another injurious affront offered by the Governor or Alcayde of Tetuan to Mr. Latton, an Engliſh Ambaſſador, ſent thither to redeem the Britiſh ſubjects, who had been many years enſlaved in the dominions of the King of Morocco. A revolution having lately happened in this empire, Muley Abdallah, the reigning ruffian, inſiſted upon the Ambaſſador's paying a pretended balance for the ranſom of the captives, as well as depoſiting a conſiderable ſum, which had already been paid to a deceaſed Baſhaw; alledging, that as he (the Emperor) received no part of it, the payment was illegal. Mr. Latton refuſing to comply with this arbitrary demand, his houſe was ſurrounded by a detachment of ſoldiers, who violently dragged his ſecretary from his preſence, and threw him into a diſmal ſubterranean dungeon, where he continued twenty days. The Engliſh ſlaves, to the number of twenty-ſeven, were condemned to the ſame fate: the Ambaſſador himſelf was degraded from his character, deprived of his allowance, and ſequeſtered from all communication. All the letters directed to him were intercepted, and interpreted to the Alcayde: two negroe porters were entruſted with the keys of all his apartments, and a couple of ſoldiers poſted at his chamber-door: nay, this Mooriſh Governor threatened to load him with irons, and violently ſeized part of the preſent deſigned by his Britannick Majeſty for the Emperor. At length, finding

finding that neither Mr. Latton nor the Governor of Gibraltar, to whom he had written, would deposit the money, without fresh institutions from the Court of London, the barbarian thought proper to relax in his severity: the prisoners were enlarged, the restrictions removed from the person of the Ambassador, and, after all these indignities offered to the honour of the British nation, the balance was paid, and the affair quietly adjusted.

CHAP. I. 1748.

§ XXIX. Britain, in the mean while, was altogether barren of events which might deserve a place in a general history. Commerce and manufacture flourished again, to such a degree of increase as had never been known in the island: but this advantage was attended with an irresistible tide of luxury and excess, which flowed through all degrees of the people, breaking down all the mounds of civil policy, and opening a way for licence and immorality. The highways were infested with rapine and assassination; the cities teemed with the brutal votaries of lewdness, intemperance, and profligacy. The whole land was overspread with a succession of tumult, riot, and insurrection, excited in different parts of the kingdom by the erection of new turnpikes, which the legislature judged necessary for the convenience of inland carriage. In order to quell these disturbances, recourse was had to the military power; several individuals were slain, and some were executed as examples.

§ XXX. In the month of November the session of Parliament was opened with a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty expressed a particular pleasure in meeting them at a time when the perfect re-establishment of a general peace had restored to his people the blessings of quiet and tranquillity. He said, the good effects of these already appeared in the flourishing condition of national commerce, and in the rise of publick credit, which were the foundations of strength and prosperity to these kingdoms.

BOOK III. 1748. He declared, That, during the ſummer, he had uſed every opportunity of cementing and ſecuring the peace; That it was his firm reſolution to do every thing in his power for the preſervation of it, and religiouſly adhere to the engagements into which he had entered. Finally, he took notice of the good diſpoſition he had found in the other contracting parties to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to cheriſh the publick tranquillity of Europe; and he earneſtly recommended to the two Houſes the maintenance of a ſtrong naval power, as the bulwark of national ſecurity.

§ XXXI. When the motion was made for an addreſs of thanks in the Houſe of Commons, the firſt paragraph of his Majeſty's ſpeech furniſhed the oppoſition with a handle to declaim againſt the late treaty. Sir John Hynde Cotton obſerved, That the peace could not be properly ſtiled complete, as nothing had been ſtipulated with reſpect to the article of "no ſearch; alluding to the interruption our commerce had ſuſtained from the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies: a ſtipulation, without which both Houſes of Parliament had formerly voted that there ſhould be no peace with that kingdom. In the
An. 1749. preſent conjuncture of affairs, ſuch an objection ſavoured rather of party than of patriotiſm; and indeed Sir John declared, that the remarks he made upon the occaſion were rather in diſcharge of the duty he owed to his country, than in hope of ſeeing his ſentiments eſpouſed by the Majority. Some ſharp altercation was uſed in the debate which aroſe on this ſubject; and many ſevere invectives were levelled at thoſe who negociated, as well as at thoſe who approved and confirmed the treaty. But Mr. Pelham, who ſuſtained the whole weight of the debate on the ſide of Adminiſtration, anſwered every objection with equal candour and ability; and if he failed in proving that the terms of peace were as favourable as could be expected, conſidering the

unfortunate events of the war, and the ſituation of the contending powers; he at leaſt demonſtrated, that it would be the intereſt of the kingdom to acquieſce for the preſent in the treaty which had been concluded, and endeavour to remedy its imperfections by ſubſequent conventions, amicably opened among thoſe powers between whom any cauſe of diſpute remained. With reſpect to the vote of both Houſes, mentioned by Sir John Hynde Cotton, he declared that he had never approved of that ſtep, when it was firſt taken; or, if he had, times and circumſtances, which could not be foreſeen, would have juſtified his deviating from it in the re-eſtabliſhment of peace. He reminded them, that a Parliament of Great-Britain had once voted "no peace while any part of the Weſt-Indies ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh King;" yet a train of incidents, which they could not poſſibly foreſee, afterwards rendered it expedient to adopt a peace, without inſiſting upon the accompliſhment of that condition. In a word, we muſt own, that, in the majority of debates excited in the courſe of this ſeſſion, the miniſtry derived their triumphs from the force of reaſon, as well as from the weight of influence. We ſhall always, however, except the efforts that were made for reducing the number of land-forces to fifteen thouſand, and maintaining a greater number of ſeamen than the miniſtry propoſed. On theſe conſtitutional points the Earl of Egmont, and the other chiefs of the oppoſition, expatiated with all the energy of eloquence; which, however, was fruſtrated by the power of ſuperior numbers. Ten thouſand ſeamen were voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's injunction to maintain a conſiderable navy; and the number of land-forces was continued at eighteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſeven. The ſums granted for making good his Majeſty's engagements with the Electors of Bavaria and

CHAP. I. 1749.

 Mentz,

BOOK III. 1749. Mentz, and the Duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, amounted to fifty-three thouſand two hundred and twenty-five pounds ſterling. The ſervices done by the colonies in North-America, during the war, were gratified with the ſum of one hundred twenty-two thouſand two hundred forty-ſix pounds. The expence incurred by the new colony of Nova-Scotia exceeded ſeventy-ſix thouſand pounds. A ſmall ſum was voted for the improvement of Georgia; and ten thouſand pounds were granted towards the ſupport of the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. The ſum total granted in this ſeſſion aroſe to four millions one hundred forty-one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-one pounds, nine ſhillings, and eleven pence half-penny, to be raiſed by the land-tax, at three ſhillings in the pound; the malt, and other duties, the ſurplus of divers impoſitions remaining in the Bank and Exchequer; one million by annuities, at three per cent. charged on the ſinking-fund, until redeemed by Parliament; and nine hundred thouſand pounds out of the exceſs or overplus of monies denominated the ſinking-fund.

§ XXXII. But the capital meaſure which diſtinguiſhed this ſeſſion of parliament was the reduction of the intereſt on the publick funds; a ſcheme which was planned and executed by the miniſter, without any national diſturbance or diſquiet, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe; the different nations of which could not comprehend how it would be poſſible for the government, at the cloſe of a long and expenſive war, which had ſo conſiderably drained the country, and augmented the enormous burthen of national debt, to find money for paying off ſuch of the publick creditors as might chooſe to receive the principal, rather than ſubmit to a reduction of the intereſt. It was not very much for the honour of the oppoſition, that ſome of its leading members endeavoured to impede this great machine of civil

 œconomy,

œconomy, by taking opportunities of affirming in Parliament, in oppoſition to his Majeſty's ſpeech, that the nation, far from being in a flouriſhing condition, was almoſt entirely exhauſted; that commerce drooped and declined; that publick credit ſtood tottering on the brink of ruin; and that all the treaties lately concluded among the different powers of Europe were, in effect, diſadvantageous and prejudicial to the intereſts of Great-Britain. In anſwer to theſe aſſertions, Mr. Pelham undertook to prove, from the regiſter of exports and imports, that the commerce of the kingdom was more extenſive at this than at any former period; and that the publick credit was ſtrong enough to admit of an experiment, which he would not preſume to hazard, except upon a moral certainty of its being firmly rooted, beyond the power of accident and faction to ſhake or overturn. He declared, that his deſign of reducing the intereſt upon the funds was the reſult of the love he bore his country, and an opinion that it was the duty of the ſervants of the crown to eaſe the burthens of the people. He ſaid, he had conferred on this ſubject with perſons of the moſt approved knowledge, and undoubted experience; and choſe to promulgate the method propoſed for alleviating the load of the national debt, that the publick, in knowing the particulars of the ſcheme, might have time to conſider them at leiſure, and ſtart ſuch objections as ſhould concur to their reflection, before it might be too late to adopt amendments. He obſerved, that nothing could more clearly demonſtrate the vigour of publick credit, and the augmentation of national commerce, than the price of ſtock, which had within three years riſen to a very conſiderable increaſe; and the duties on imports, which in nine months had added one million to the ſinking-fund, notwithſtanding a very extraordinary ſum which had been paid as bounties for exported corn. He expreſſed great tenderneſs and

BOOK III. 1749. and regard for the interests of those who had advanced their money for the service of the government; declaring, that his aim was to contrive a fair, honest, and equitable method for lessening the national incumbrances, by lowering the interest, conformable to parliamentary faith, and agreeable to the rules of eternal justice. His plan was accordingly communicated, canvassed, and approved in the House of Commons, and an act passed for reducing the interest of the funds which constitute the national debt*. In pursuance of this act, for the reduction of the interest, the greater part of the creditors complied with the terms proposed, and subscribed their respective annuities before the end of February; but the three great companies at first

* The resolutions of the Commons on this head were printed by authority in the London Gazette, signifying, That those who were, or should be, proprietors of any part of the publick debt, redeemable by law, incurred before Michaelmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, carrying an interest of four per centum per annum, who should, on or before the twenty-eighth day of February in that year, subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept of an interest of three pounds per centum, to commence from the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, subject to the same provisions, notices, and clauses of redemption, to which their respective sums at four per centum were then liable, should, in lieu of their present interest, be intitled to four per centum till the twenty-fifth day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty; and after that day, to three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum, till the twenty-fifth day of December one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven; and no part of that debt, except what was due to the East-India company, should be redeemable to this period: That if any part of the national debt, incurred before last Michaelmas, redeemable by law, and carrying an interest of four per centum, should remain unsubscribed on or before the thirtieth day of May, the government should pay off the principal. For this purpose his Majesty was enabled to borrow of any person or persons, bodies politick or corporate, any sum or sums of money not exceeding that part of the national debt which might remain unsubscribed, to be charged on the sinking-fund, upon any terms not exceeding the rate of interest in the foregoing proposal.

All the duties appropriated to the payment of the interest were still continued, and the surplus of these incorporated with the sinking-fund for the discharge of the principal. Books were opened for the subscription at the Exchequer, the Bank of England, and the South-sea house; and copies of these resolutions transmitted to the directors of all the monied corporations.

kept aloof, and refused to subscribe any part of their capital. CHAP. I.

§ XXXIII. About the middle of March the Commons ordered the proper officers to lay before them an account of the sums which had been subscribed, and these were taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House. It was then that Mr. Pelham, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, observed, That besides the debts due to the three great companies in their corporate capacity, all the rest, carrying four per centum interest, had been subscribed, except about eight or nine millions, the proprietors of which had forfeited the favour designed them by Parliament: but as many of these had been misled by evil counsellors, who perhaps were more intent on distressing the government, than solicitous to serve their friends; and as many were foreigners, residing beyond sea, who had not time to take proper advice, and give the necessary instructions; and as these could not possibly be distinguished from such as refused to subscribe from mere obstinacy or disaffection, it might be thought cruel to take the most rigorous advantage of the forfeiture they had incurred. With respect to the proprietors of the stock or capital belonging to the three great companies, he asserted, that many of them would willingly have subscribed their properties within the time limited, but were necessarily excluded by the majority on the ballot; and as it was equally impossible to know those who were against the question on the ballot, he thought that some tenderness was due even to the proprietors of those three companies: his opinion, therefore, was, that they and the uncomplying annuitants should be indulged with further time to complete their subscription; but, in order to preserve the authority of Parliament, and the respect due to that august assembly, they ought not to be gratified with such advantageous terms as were allowed to the annuitants who

An. 1750.

at

BOOK III. 1750.

at first chearfully complied with the proposals offered by the legislature. For these reasons he proposed, That although the term of subscribing should be protracted till the thirtieth day of May, the encouragement of three pounds ten shillings per centum per annum should not be continued to the second subscribers longer than till the fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five. The proposal being approved, a bill was framed for this purpose, as well as for redeeming such annuities as should not be subscribed, which passed through both Houses, and was enacted into a law, after having received an additional clause, empowering the East-India Company, in case they should subscribe all their stock bearing an interest of four per centum, to borrow, with the consent of the Treasury, any sums not exceeding four millions two hundred thousand pounds, after the several rates of interest before proposed to be paid by the publick, and one million more at three per centum per annum. They were also vested with a power to raise money by bonds, as formerly; yet so as the whole, including the annuities, should not exceed what they were by former acts empowered to borrow, The objections to the execution of this project, which by many were deemed insurmountable, entirely vanished before the fortitude, perseverance, and caution of the minister; who had secured, among the monied men of the nation, the promise of such sums as would have been sufficient to pay off the capital belonging to those creditors who might refuse to accept the interest thus reduced. The second subscription had the desired effect. The three great companies acquiesced, and their example was followed by the other scrupulous annuitants; the national burthen was comfortably lightened, and the sinking-fund considerably increased, without producing the least perplexity or disturbance in the commonwealth; a circumstance that could not fail to excite the admiration and envy of all Christendom.

§ XXXIV.

§ XXXIV. The mutiny-bill for the enſuing year was mitigated with an eſſential alteration, relating to the oath of ſecreſy impoſed upon the members of every court-martial, who were now releaſed from this reſerve, if required to give evidence, by due courſe of law, in any court of judicature; and whereas, by the former mutiny-bill, a General was empowered to order the reviſal of any ſentence by a court-martial as often as he pleaſed, and, on that pretence, to keep in confinement a man who had been acquitted upon a fair trial, it was now enacted, That no ſentence pronounced by any court-martial, and ſigned by the preſident, ſhould be more than once liable to reviſal. Colonel George Townſhend, ſon of Lord Viſcount Townſhend, who had equally diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his civil and military accompliſhments, propoſed another clauſe, for preventing any non-commiſſioned officer being broke or reduced into the ranks; or any ſoldier being puniſhed, but by the ſentence of a court-martial. He gave the Houſe to underſtand, that certain perſons attended at the door, who from the ſtation of non-commiſſioned officers had been broke, and reduced into the ranks, without trial, or any cauſe aſſigned; and he expatiated not only upon the iniquity of ſuch proceedings, but alſo upon the danger of leaving ſuch arbitrary power in the hands of an individual officer. A warm debate was the conſequence of this motion, which, however, was over-ruled by the majority.

§ XXXV. Among other regulations made in the courſe of this ſeſſion for the encouragement of the Britiſh manufactures, a large duty was laid upon Iriſh ſail-cloth, which being ſold at an under price, was found to interfere with the ſame ſpecies of commodity fabricated in the iſland of Great-Britain; and, for the further benefit of this laſt, the bounty upon the exportation of it, which had been deducted from a defective fund, was now made payable

out

BOOK III. 1750.

out of the cuſtoms. This meaſure, however, was not of ſuch importance to the nation, as the act which they paſſed for encouraging the importation of pig and bar-iron from the Britiſh Colonies in North-America. Every well-wiſher to his country reflected with concern on the nature of the Britiſh trade with Sweden, from which kingdom the ſubjects of his Britannick Majeſty imported more iron and ſteel than all the other countries in Europe. For this article they paid a very great balance in ready money, which the Swedes again expended in purchaſing from the French, and other mercantile powers, thoſe neceſſaries and ſuperfluities with which they might have been as cheaply furniſhed by Great-Britain. In the mean time, the Engliſh Colonies in America were reſtricted by ſevere duties from making advantage of their own produce, in exchanging their iron for ſuch commodities as they were under the neceſſity of procuring from their mother-country. Such reſtriction was not only a cruel grievance upon our own ſettlements, but alſo attended with manifeſt prejudice to the intereſt of Great-Britain, annually drained of great ſums, in favour of an ungrateful nation, from which no part of them returned; whereas the iron imported from America, muſt of neceſſity come in exchange for our own manufactures. The Commons having appointed a day for taking this affair into conſideration, carefully examined into the ſtate of the Britiſh commerce carried on with Sweden, as well as into the accounts of iron imported from the plantations in America; and a committee of the whole Houſe having reſolved, That the duties on American pig and bar-iron ſhould be removed, a bill * was brought in

* The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending the progreſs of this bill, which made its way through both Houſes, and obtained the Royal aſſent, was the number of contradictory petitions in favour and in prejudice of it, while it remained under conſideration. The tanners of leather in and about the town of Sheffield in Yorkſhire, repreſented,

in for that purpose, containing a clause, however, to prevent his Majesty's subjects from making steel, CHAP. I. 1750.

represented, That if the bill should pass, the English iron would be undersold; consequently a great number of furnaces and forges would be discontinued: in that case the woods used for fuel would stand uncut, and the tanners be deprived of oak bark sufficient for the continuance and support of their occupation. They nevertheless owned, that should the duty be removed from pig-iron only, no such consequence could be apprehended; because, should the number of furnaces be lessened, that of forges would be increased. This was likewise the plea urged in divers remonstrances by masters of iron-works, gentlemen, and freeholders, who had tracts of wood-land in their possession. The owners, proprietors, and farmers of furnaces and iron forges, belonging to Sheffield and its neighbourhood, enlarged upon the great expence they had incurred in erecting and supporting iron works, by means of which great numbers of his Majesty's subjects were comfortably supported. They expressed their apprehension, that should the bill pass into a law, it could not in any degree lessen the consumption of Swedish iron, which was used for purposes which neither the American nor British iron would answer; but that the proposed encouragement, considering the plenty and cheapness of wood in America, would enable the colonies to undersell the British iron, a branch of traffick which would be totally destroyed, to the ruin of many thousand labourers, who would be compelled to seek their livelihood in foreign countries. They likewise suggested, that if all the iron manufacturers of Great-Britain should be obliged to depend upon a supply of iron from the plantations, which must ever be rendered precarious by the hazard of the seas and the enemy, the manufactures would probably decay for want of materials, and many thousand families be reduced to want and misery. On the other hand, the ironmongers and smiths belonging to the flourishing town of Birmingham in Warwickshire, presented a petition, declaring, That the bill would be of great benefit to the trade of the nation, as it would enable the Colonists to make larger returns of their own produce, and encourage them to take a greater quantity of the British manufactures. They affirmed, that all the iron works in the island of Great-Britain did not supply half the quantity of that metal sufficient to carry on the manufacture; that if this deficiency could be supplied from the Colonies in America, the importation would cease, and considerable sums of money be saved to the nation. They observed, that the importation of iron from America could no more affect the iron-works and freeholders of the kingdom than the like quantity imported from any other country; but they prayed that the people of America might be restrained from erecting slitting or rolling mills, or forges for plating iron, as they would interfere with the manufactures of Great-Britain.

Many remonstrances to the same effect were presented from different parts of the kingdom; and it appeared, upon the most exact enquiry, that the encouragement of American iron would prove extremely beneficial to the kingdom, as it had been found, upon trial, applicable to all the uses of Swedish iron, and as good in every respect as the produce of that country.

and

BOOK III. 1750. and eftablifhing mills for flitting and rolling iron within the Britifh colonies of America; this precaution being taken, that the colonifts might not interfere with the manufactures of their mother-country.

§ XXXVI. The next commercial improvement, of which we fhall take notice, was the bill for the encouragement of the Britifh white-herring and cod-fifheries. This was likewife the refult of mature deliberation, importing, That a bounty of thirty fhillings per ton fhould be granted, and paid out of the Cuftoms to all new veffels from twenty to fourfcore tons burthen, which fhould be built for that purpofe, and actually employed in the fifhery: That a fociety fhould be incorporated, under the name of the Free Britifh Fifhery, by a charter, not exclufive, with power to raife a capital not exceeding five hundred thoufand pounds; and that three pounds ten fhillings per centum per annum fhould be granted and paid out of the Cuftoms to the proprietors for fourteen years, for fo much of the capital as fhould be actually employed in the faid fifheries. Correfponding chambers were propofed to be erected in remote parts of North-Britain, for taking in fubfcriptions, and profecuting the trade, under the directions of the company at London; and the nation in general feemed eager to difpute this branch of commerce with the fubjects of Holland, whom they confidered as ungrateful interlopers. In the Houfe of Peers, however, the bill met with a formidable oppofition from the Earl of Winchelfea and Lord Sandys, who juftly obferved, that it was a crude, indigefted fcheme, which, in the execution, would never anfwer the expectations of the people: That in contending with the Dutch, who are the patterns of unwearied induftry, and the moft rigid œconomy, nothing could be more abfurd than a joint-ftock company, which is always clogged with extraordinary expence; and the refolution of fitting out

out vessels at the port of London, where all sorts of materials, labour, and seamen are so much dearer than in any other part of the united kingdom, exclusive of the great distance and dangerous voyage between the metropolis and the Sound of Brassa in Shetland, the rendezvous at which all the herring-busses were to assemble in the beginning of the fishing season. They likewise took notice of the heavy duty on salt, used in curing the fish for sale, and the beef for provision to the mariners; a circumstance of itself sufficient to discourage adventurers from embarking in a commerce which, at best, yields but very slender profits to the trade in particular, how important soever it might prove to the community in general. These objections were answered by the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Granville, who seemed to think that this branch of trade could not be fairly set on foot, without such a considerable sum of money as no single individual would care to advance; that a joint-stock company would be able to prosecute the fishery at a smaller expence than that which particular traders must necessarily incur; that the present spirit of the nation, which was eagerly bent upon trying the experiment, ought not to be baulked by delay, lest it should evaporate; and that though the plan was not unexceptionable, the defects of it might in the sequel be remedied by the legislature. In a word, the bill was adopted by the majority, with a small amendment in the title, which produced some disquiets in the Lower House: but this dispute was compromised, and it was enacted into a law towards the close of the session. Nothing could be more agreeable to the publick than the sanction of the legislature to this favourite plan, which was ardently promoted, and patronised by men of the greatest eminence for wealth and popularity. The company chose for their Governor the Prince of Wales, who received this proof of their attachment and respect with particular marks of satisfaction:

CHAP. I.
1750.

BOOK III. 1750. ſatisfaction: the Preſident and Vice-preſident were both Aldermen of London; and the Council was compoſed of thirty gentlemen, the majority of whom were members of Parliament. Great pains were taken, and ſome artifice was uſed, to learn the Dutch method of curing the fiſh. People crowded with their ſubſcriptions; a number of hands were employed in building and equipping the buſſes or veſſels uſed in the fiſhery; and the moſt favourable conſequences were expected from the general vigour and alacrity which animated theſe preparations. But the ſucceſs did not gratify the ſanguine hopes of the projectors and adventurers. The objections made in the Houſe of Lords ſoon appeared to have been well founded: theſe co-operating with miſmanagement in the directors, the ſpirit of the Company began to flag, the natural conſequences of commercial diſappointment, and now the Britiſh fiſhery ſeems to languiſh under the neglect of the legiſlature.

§ XXXVII. Touching the trade to the coaſt of Africa, petitions were renewed by the Company and its creditors, the merchants of Briſtol, Liverpool, and Lancaſter; and a remonſtrance was preſented by the planters and merchants intereſted in the Britiſh ſugar ſettlements in America: but the Commons adhered to their former reſolutions of laying open the trade, maintaining the forts at the publick expence, and regulating the commerce by a committee of merchants, repreſenting the chief trading towns in the kingdom, to be ſuperintended by the board of trade and plantations. The bill was accordingly framed and preſented, and having proceeded through both Houſes without oppoſition, obtained the Royal aſſent. Over and above theſe wiſe, ſalutary, and patriotick meaſures for the improvement of commerce, they encouraged the importation of raw ſilk by an act, reducing the duties formerly payable on that which was the growth of

China

China to the ſame that is raiſed on the raw ſilk from Italy, and allowing the ſame draw-back upon the exportation of the one which had been uſually granted on the other. A ſecond bill was brought in for the encouragement of the growth and culture of ſilk in Carolina and Georgia, where it had been lately produced with extraordinary ſucceſs, by freeing from all duties that which ſhould be imported from his Majeſty's dominions in America; and a third was framed, permitting raw ſilk of the growth or produce of Perſia, purchaſed in Ruſſia, to be imported into Great-Britain, from any port or place belonging to the empire of Ruſſia. Divers efforts were made, by different members in the oppoſition, to rectify certain abuſes in the army and adminiſtration: ſome bills were brought in, and ſeveral petitions were left on the table; but all of them proved abortive, from the power and influence of the miniſter, who ſeemed reſolved that no benefit ſhould flow upon the nation through any channel but his own. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be acknowledged, for the honour of his memory, that there is no ſeſſion on record ſo productive as this was of meaſures advantageous to the community.

CHAP. I.

1750.

§ XXXVIII. The people, however, were not entirely ſatisfied with the conduct of the adminiſtration, if we may judge from the ferment and commotions raiſed during the progreſs of an election for a citizen to repreſent the city of Weſtminſter in Parliament. The ſeat which had been filled by Lord Trentham, eldeſt ſon of Earl Gower, having become vacant, in conſequence of that nobleman's accepting a place at the Board of Admiralty, he again declared himſelf a candidate, and met with a violent oppoſition. Thoſe who ſtiled themſelves the independent electors of Weſtminſter being now incenſed to an uncommon degree of turbulence by the interpoſition of miniſterial influence, determined to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to baffle the deſigns

BOOK III. 1750. of the Court, and at the fame time take vengeance on the family of Earl Gower, who had entirely abandoned the oppofition, of which he was formerly one of the moft refpected leaders. With this view they held confultations, agreed to refolutions, and fet up a private gentleman, named Sir George Vandeput, as the competitor of Lord Trentham, declaring that they would fupport his pretenfions at their own expence, being the more encouraged to this enterprize by the countenance and affiftance of the Prince of Wales and his adherents. They accordingly opened houfes of entertaiment for their partifans, folicited votes, circulated remonftrances, and propagated abufe: in a word, they canvaffed, with furprifing fpirit and perfeverance, againft the whole intereft of St. James's. Mobs were hired and proceffions made on both fides, and the city of Weftminfter was filled with tumult and uproar. The mutual animofity of the parties feemed every day to increafe during the election, and a great number of unqualified votes were prefented on both fides: all the powers of infinuation, obloquy, and ridicule, were employed to vilify and depreciate both candidates. At length the poll being clofed, a majority of votes appeared in behalf of Lord Trentham: but a fcrutiny being demanded by the other fide, the returning officer complied with their requeft. The Speaker of the Lower Houfe had iffued his warrant for a new writ of election about the middle of November; and towards the end of February Mr. Fox, Secretary at War, ftanding up, and obferving that no return had yet been made, thought proper to move, That the Clerk of the Crown, the Meffenger Extraordinary attending the great feal, the Under-fheriff of Middlefex, and the High-bailiff of Weftminfter, fhould attend next morning, and give an account of their iffuing, delivering, and executing the writ of election. Thefe being examined, and the High-bailiff declaring that he would proceed with all pof-

ſible diſpatch in the ſcrutiny; which had been demanded and was begun, Mr. Speaker explained to him ſome particulars of his duty; in the diſcharge of which, he was given to underſtand he might depend upon the protection of the Houſe, ſhould he meet with any obſtruction which he could not otherwiſe ſurmount. By the violence and caprice with which a great number of votes were conteſted on both ſides, the ſcrutiny was protracted a long time, and the return attended with ſome extraordinary conſequences, which ſhall be particulariſed among the tranſactions of the next year. In the mean time, the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament was cloſed on the twelfth day of April, with a ſpeech from the throne, commending the Commons for having ſeized the very firſt opportunity of reducing the intereſt of the national debt, without the leaſt infringement upon the faith of Parliament; and congratulating them on the flouriſhing ſtate of the publick credit, which could not fail to add ſtrength and reputation to the government, both at home and abroad. Immediately after the riſing of the Parliament, his Majeſty appointed a Regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence, and embarked for the Continent, in order to viſit his German dominions.

§ XXXIX. The month of January and the beginning of February were diſtinguiſhed, the firſt day by a very remarkable Aurora Borealis, appearing at night to the north-eaſt, of a deep and duſky red colour, like the reflection of ſome great fire, for which it was by many people miſtaken; and the coruſcations, unlike thoſe that are generally obſerved, did not meet in the zenith, but in a point ſome degrees to the ſouthward. February was uſhered in by terrible peals of thunder, flaſhes of lightening, and ſuch a tempeſt of wind, hail, and rain, as overwhelmed with fear and conſternation the inhabitants of Briſtol, where it chiefly raged. On the eighth day of the ſame month, between

BOOK III. 1750. twelve and one in the afternoon, the people of London were ſtill more dreadfully alarmed by the ſhock of an earthquake, which ſhook all the houſes with ſuch violence, that the furniture rocked on the floors, the pewter and porcelaine rattled on the ſhelves, the chamber-bells rang, and the whole of this commotion was attended with a clap or noiſe reſembling that produced by the fall of ſome heavy piece of furniture. The ſhock extended through the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and was felt on both ſides the river Thames, from Greenwich to the weſtward of London; but not perceptible at a conſiderable diſtance. On the very ſame day of the next month, between five and ſix o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the metropolis were again affrighted by a ſecond ſhock, more violent than the firſt, and abundantly more alarming, as it waked the greater part of the people from their repoſe. It was preceded by a ſucceſſion of thick low flaſhes of lightening, and a rumbling noiſe, like that of a heavy carriage rolling over a hollow pavement. The ſhock itſelf conſiſted of repeated vibrations, which laſted ſome ſeconds, and violently ſhook every houſe from top to bottom. Again the chairs rocked, the ſhelves clattered, the ſmall bells rang, and in ſome places publick clocks were heard to ſtrike. Many perſons rouſed by this terrible viſitation, ſtarted naked from their beds, and ran to their doors and windows in diſtraction: yet no life was loſt, and no houſe overthrown by this concuſſion, though it was ſo dreadful as to threaten an immediate diſſolution of the globe. The circumſtance, however, did not fail to make a deep impreſſion upon ignorant, weak, and ſuperſtitious minds, which were the more affected by the conſideration that the two ſhocks were periodical; that the ſecond, which happened exactly one month after the firſt, had been the more violent; and that the next, increaſing in proportion, might be attended with the moſt diſmal conſequences. This general

neral notion was confirmed, and indeed propagated, among all ranks of people, by the admonitions of a fanatick ſoldier, who publickly preached up repentance, and boldly propheſied that the next ſhock would happen on the ſame day of April, and totally deſtroy the cities of London and Weſtminſter. Conſidering the infectious nature of fear and ſuperſtition, and the emphatick manner in which the imagination had been prepared and prepoſſeſſed, it was no wonder that the prediction of this illiterate enthuſiaſt ſhould have contributed, in a great meaſure, to augment the general terror. The churches were crowded with penitent ſinners: the ſons of riot and profligacy, were over-awed into ſobriety and decorum. The ſtreets no longer reſounded with execrations, or the noiſe of brutal licentiouſneſs; and the hand of charity was liberally opened. Thoſe, whom fortune had enabled to retire from the devoted city, fled to the country with hurry and precipitation, inſomuch that the highways were encumbered with horſes and carriages. Many who had, in the beginning, combated theſe groundleſs fears with the weapons of reaſon and ridicule, began inſenſibly to imbibe the contagion, and felt their hearts fail, in proportion as the hour of probation approached: even ſcience and philoſophy were not proof againſt the unaccountable effects of this communication. In after-ages it will hardly be believed, that on the evening of the eighth day of April, the open fields that ſkirt the metropolis were filled with an incredible number of people aſſembled in chairs, in chaiſes, and coaches, as well as on foot, who waited in the moſt fearful ſuſpence until morning, and the return of day diſproved the truth of the dreaded propheſy. Then their fears vaniſhed: they returned to their reſpective habitations in a tranſport of joy; and were ſoon reconciled to their abandoned vices, which they ſeemed to reſume with redoubled affec- CHAP. I. 1750.

 tion,

BOOK III. 1750. tion, and once more bade defiance to the vengeance of Heaven.

§ XL. By this time all the gaols in England were filled with the refuse of the army and navy, which having been dismissed at the peace, and either averse to labour, or excluded from employment, had naturally preyed upon the commonwealth. Great numbers of those wretches who, by proper regulations, might have been rendered serviceable to the community, were executed as examples; and the rest perished miserably, amidst the stench and horrors of noisome dungeons. Even the prison of Newgate was rendered so infectious by the uncommon crowds of confined felons, stowed together in close apartments, that the very air they breathed acquired a pestilential degree of putrefaction. It was this putrified air, which, adhering to the clothes of the malefactors brought to trial at the bar of the Old-Bailey in May, produced among the audience a pestilential fever, which infected and proved fatal to the Lord Mayor of London, to one Alderman, two of the Judges, divers lawyers who attended the session, the greatest part of the jury, and a considerable number of the spectators. In order to prevent such disasters for the future, the gaols were cleansed, and accommodated with ventilators, which exhaust the foul and supply a circulation of fresh air; and other humane precautions were taken for the benefit of the prisoners.

§ XLI. The affairs of the continent underwent no remarkable alteration. An Ambassador Extraordinary being sent to Petersburgh from the Court of London declared to the Czarina's minister, that in case of a rupture between Russia and Sweden, occasioned by the hostilities committed by the former power, his Britannick Majesty would consider Russia as the aggressor, and the Czarina could not expect that he would supply her with the succours which he was engaged by treaty to furnish for her defence,

defence, in case she should be attacked. A declaration of the same nature was made by the Ambassador of her Imperial Majesty the Queen of Hungary, while the ministers of France and Prussia, who were in strict alliance with Sweden, gave her to understand, that they would punctually fulfil their engagements with the Court of Stockholm, should she actually invade the Swedish territories of Finland. The spirit with which the King of Prussia exerted himself on this occasion, gave infinite umbrage to the Czarina, who, indeed, expressed her resentment, by treating the minister of Brandenburgh with contemptuous neglect, and even refused to favour him with an audience, till he should be vested with the character of Ambassador. Thus were sown the seeds of misunderstanding between those two powers, which, in the sequel, grew up to the most bitter animosity, and served to inflame those dissensions which have desolated the fairest provinces of Germany. The remonstrance of his Prussian Majesty, with respect to the troubles of the North, was couched in such terms as gave dissatisfaction to the Court of Petersburgh. The Russian Minister retired from Berlin, without the ceremony of taking leave, and the Prussian Ambassador Warendorf was recalled from the Court of the Czarina.

§ XLII. The attention of his Britannick Majesty was not wholly engrossed by the disputes between Russia and Sweden. He had another object in view, which more nearly concerned the interest of his German dominions; and had set on foot two negociations of the utmost importance to the commerce and advantage of Great-Britain. His first and principal aim was, in conjunction with the Court of Vienna, to take such measures as would secure the succession of the Imperial dignity to the Archduke Joseph, eldest son and heir to the reigning Emperor. As the previous step to that elevation, it was proposed to elect this young Prince King of the Romans; and

BOOK III. 1750.

and for this purpose it was necessary to procure a majority not only of the electors, but also in the diet of the Empire, through which the proposal must have passed. No stone was left unturned to reconcile this expedient to the German Princes. Subsidies were offered by the maritime powers of England, and the States-General, to the Electors of Mentz and Cologn; and a treaty of the same nature was concluded with the Elector of Bavaria, who, in consideration of an annual subsidy, amounting to forty thousand pounds sterling, two thirds to be paid by Britain, and the rest by the States-General, engaged to keep in readiness a body of six thousand infantry, as auxiliaries to the Maritime Powers, though not to act against the Emperor or empire; and to join the interest of his Britannick Majesty in the diet, as well as in the electoral college. In order to render the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, propitious to this design, he was accommodated with the loan of a very considerable sum, upon the mortgage of certain bailiwicks and lordships belonging to the Saxon dominions. Thus a majority of the electors was secured, and such foundations were laid for the success of this project, that it was generally believed it would be accomplished in his Britannick Majesty's next visit to his German dominions. Hopes, it was said, were given to the King of Sweden, that his concurrence would be gratified by erecting the House of Hesse-Cassel, of which he was head, into a tenth electorate. Arguments of an interesting nature were used with the King of Prussia, and the Elector Palatine, that if possible, the diet might unanimously approve of this measure, so necessary for establishing the peace of the empire, and preventing such troubles as arose from a disputed succession at the death of Charles the Sixth. These endeavours, however, did not succeed in their full extent.

§ XLIII. The King of Pruſſia, as Elector of Brandenburgh, oppoſed the election as unneceſſary and improper, on account of the health and vigour of the reigning Emperor, and the tender years of the Archduke. This Monarch had ſet himſelf up as a balance to the power of the Houſe of Auſtria, which had long aſpired to abſolute dominion over its co-eſtates, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh an hereditary right of ſucceſſion to the empire: he, therefore, employed all his influence to fruſtrate the meaſure propoſed, either actuated by a ſpirit of pure patriotiſm, or inſpired with deſigns which he had not yet thought proper to declare. The oppoſition was joined by the Elector Palatine, and countenanced by the French King; who proteſted, that, for the ſake of peace, he would not oppoſe this election, though contrary to the Golden Bull, provided it ſhould be confirmed by the unanimous conſent of the electoral college: but ſhould any one member ſignify his diſſent, and he or any ſtate of the empire claim the protection and aſſiſtance of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, he could not diſpenſe with granting both, in conſequence of his being guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia; an engagement by which he was obliged to ſuccour thoſe Princes and States of the empire who might have recourſe to him, in caſe of any grievance they ſuffered contrary to what was ſtipulated in that conſtitution. This declaration co-operating with the known character of his Pruſſian Majeſty, whoſe great army over-awed Hanover and Bohemia, in all probability damped that vigour with which the Courts of Vienna and Herenhauſen had hitherto proſecuted this important negociation.

§ XLIV. The ſecond object that employed the attention of the Britiſh miniſtry, was the eſtabliſhment of the preciſe limits of Acadia, or Nova-Scotia, where the new colony had ſuffered great miſchief and interruption from the incurſions of the Indians,

BOOK III. 1750. Indians, excited to these outrages by the subjects and emissaries of France. Commissaries had been appointed, by both crowns, to meet at Paris, and compromise these disputes: but the conferences were rendered abortive by every art of cavalling, chicanery, and procrastination, which the French commissioners opposed to the justice and perspicuity of the English claims. They not only misinterpreted treaties, though expressed with the utmost precision, and perplexed the conferences with difficulties and matter foreign to the subject, but they carried the finesse of perfidy so far as to produce false charts and maps of the country, in which the rivers and boundaries were misplaced and misrepresented. At this time also the insincerity of the French Court appeared in affected delays and artful objections, with respect to the evacuation of the neutral islands in the West-Indies; and the Governors of the British plantations, in different parts of North-America, transmitted intelligence, that the French had begun to make encroachments on the bank of the English colonies.

§ XLV. Perhaps the precarious footing on which the peace stood between Great-Britain and France at this juncture, and the critical situation of affairs in Germany, determined the ministry of England to compromise all differences with Spain, upon such terms as at any other time they would hardly have embraced. In order to discuss those points between the two nations, which had not been settled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, conferences were also begun at Madrid, and carried on by Mr. Keene, plenipotentiary to his Britannick Majesty, and Don Joseph de Carvajal and Lancastro, the Spanish King's minister. At length a treaty was concluded on these conditions: The King of Spain engaged to pay, in three months, to the South-sea company of England, one hundred thousand pounds sterling, as an indemnification for all claims upon his crown, by

by virtue of the Aſſiento. In other reſpects, the trade and navigation of the Engliſh to the ports of Spain were regulated by former treaties. It was ſtipulated, That they ſhould pay no other duties than thoſe that were exacted of them in the reign of Charles II. of Spain: That they ſhould be treated on the footing of the moſt favoured nations; and continue to enjoy the privilege of taking ſalt at the iſland of Tortuga. But there was no article reſtricting the Spaniſh guarda coſtas from ſearching the Britiſh veſſels on the high ſeas: although, as we have already obſerved, this inſolent prerogative, aſſumed without right, and exerciſed without humanity, was, in effect, the original and ſole cauſe of the late rupture, which had been attended with ſuch enormous expence to the nation. It muſt be owned, however, that his Catholick Majeſty was at this period extremely well diſpoſed to live upon good terms with Great-Britain. He was reſolved to indulge his people with the bleſſings of peace, to propagate a ſpirit of induſtry throughout his dominions, and in particular, to encourage commerce, which he foreſaw would prove a much more certain and inexhauſtible ſource of wealth, power, and influence, than all the treaſures he could drain from the mines of Mexio and Peru. His reſolutions on this intereſting ſubject were chiefly directed by Don Ricardo Wall, who now acted as his miniſter at London; a gentleman of Iriſh extract, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field as well as in the cabinet, and poſſeſſed the joint qualifications of a general and a ſtateſman. He had, by virtue of a paſſport, come over privately to England before the peace, in order to pave the way for the treaty, by a ſecret negociation with the Engliſh miniſters; but immediately after the peace was proclaimed, he appeared in the character of Ambaſſador. He was poſſeſſed of the moſt inſinuating addreſs, ſhrewd, penetrating, and inquiſitive. While he reſided in London, he ſpared no pains in learning

BOOK III. 1750.

learning the nature of thoſe manufactures, and that commerce, by which Great-Britain had been ſo remarkably aggrandized; and on his return to Spain, where in a little time he was placed at the helm of affairs, he turned the knowledge he had thus acquired to the advantage of his country. He not only promoted the uſeful arts, within the kingdom of Spain, but demonſtrated the infinite advantage that would accrue from an active trade, which the Spaniards had for many ages neglected; and in a few years their ſhips were ſeen to ſwarm in all the commercial ports of Europe. Of other foreign events which diſtinguiſhed this ſummer, the moſt remarkable was the death of John, King of Portugal, who perfectly underſtood, and ſteadily purſued, the true intereſts of his country, and in whom many princely qualities were debaſed by a cruel ſpirit of bigotry and ſuperſtition. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Joſeph, who if he has fallen ſhort of his father in ſome reſpects, cannot be juſtly charged with having inherited this paternal weakneſs.

§ XLVI. The King of Great-Britain having returned to England, opened the ſeſſion of Parliament in January with a ſpeech, importing, That he had concluded a treaty with the King of Spain, and amicably adjuſted ſuch differences as could not be ſo properly compromiſed in a general treaty: That the commerce of this nation with that country was re-eſtabliſhed upon the moſt advantageous and ſure foundations; and that there was the greateſt reaſon to hope the ancient friendſhip between Great-Britain and Spain would, from mutual inclination as well as intereſt, be now effectually reſtored. He told them, that in conjunction with the Empreſs-Queen and the States-General, he had concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria; and was employed in taking ſuch further meaſures as might beſt tend to ſtrengthen and ſecure the tranquillity of the Empire, ſupport its ſyſtem, and timely anticipate ſuch events

as

as had been found by experience to endanger the common cause, involve Europe in the calamities of war, and occasion the loss of much blood and treasure to these kingdoms. He promised, that both these treaties should be subjected to their perusal: he gave them to understand, that he had received from all the other contracting powers in the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the most full and clear declarations of their resolution to preserve the general peace; and that he had taken care to consolidate the ties of union and friendship between him and his allies, the better to secure their mutual interests, maintain the peace already subsisting, and prevent the occasion of any future rupture. Finally, he recommended unanimity, the improvement of commerce, and the effectual suppression of such outrages and violences as are inconsistent with good order and government, and endanger the lives and properties of the subject, whose happiness and flourishing condition he had entirely at heart.

1750.

§ XLVII. When the motion was made for an address of thanks, couched in terms that favoured of the most implicit complaisance, approbation, and acquiescence in the measures which the Crown had taken, the Earl of Eg—t, and some other anti-courtiers, affirmed, that such an address would be equally servile and absurd. They observed, That nothing could be more preposterous than a blind approbation of measures which they did not know: That nothing could be more ridiculous than their congratulations on the present happy tranquillity, when almost every day's news-papers informed them of some British ships being seized by the Spaniards, or some new attack made by the French on our infant colony in Nova-Scotia. With respect to the continent of Europe, they affirmed, that the tranquillity of Germany would have been upon a much more solid foundation, had England never interposed in the affairs of the Empire: in that case the Princes

BOOK III. 1750. would of themselves have supported the constitution of their own country: That the election of an infant for the King of the Romans was much more likely to disturb than establish the tranquillity of Europe; because it would help to overturn the constitution of the Empire, by rendering the Imperial dignity hereditary in one House, instead of being the result of a free election. They took notice, that the constitution had provided Vicars to govern the Empire during the vacancy of the Imperial throne; but had made no provision of regents, protectors, or guardians, for a minor Emperor, because it was never supposed that a minor would be chosen. They inveighed against the late treaty with Spain; in which, they said, the ministry, for the paltry sum of one hundred thousand pounds, had given up the claims of the South-sea Company, and other British merchants, who had suffered from depredations to the amount of one million three hundred thousand pounds; and bartered away the freedom of our trade and navigation, by leaving untouched that prerogative which the Spaniards have assumed of searching the British ships in the open seas, and confiscating them should they find on board the least particle of what they called contraband merchandize. They produced an instance of an English ship, lately driven by stress of weather into one of the ports of the Spanish West-Indies, where she was searched, seized, and condemned, under this pretence. They recapitulated the conduct of the French, who, in the midst of their declarations of peace and moderation, were still employed in fortifying their settlements on the neutral islands, as well as in harassing and encroaching upon our plantations in North-America. They exclaimed against the treaty of subsidy with the Elector of Bavaria, or any other Prince in time of peace; observing, that for some years the nation had paid such pensions to the Danes and the Hessians; but, in the course of the late war, the former abandoned

abandoned our interefts, and the latter actually took arms againft Great-Britain. They affirmed, that the fubfidy was greater than the nation could fpare; for, unlefs the land-tax fhould be continued at four fhillings in the pound, they could not afford a fhilling to any Prince in Germany, without encroaching upon the finking-fund. "At fuch a juncture (faid "a certain member) will any gentlemen prefume to "propofe the continuation of fuch an impofition on "the land-holder, for the fake of bribing the Princes "of Germany to do what?—to preferve the free-"dom and independency of their native country. "I fay, Princes of Germany, becaufe this fubfidy to "Bavaria will fignify nothing unlefs we take half a "fcore more of them into our pay; and when we "have thus indulged them for feven years of peace, "they may give us the flip, as others have done, "whenever another war fhould be declared." Againft thefe objections the motion was fupported by Mr. William Pitt, at this time an advocate for the miniftry. He obferved, that the addrefs was no more than the ufual compliment to the Throne, which did not imply an obligation on the Parliament to approve of meafures which they might find caufe to cenfure upon further enquiry. He faid, the trivial difputes ftill fubfifting between this nation and the Spaniards, or French, would foon be terminated amicably, and could never affect the general tranquillity of Europe, which was to be eftablifhed upon a firm alliance between his Majefty and fuch a confederacy upon the Continent as would be an overmatch for the Houfe of Bourbon. He expatiated upon his Majefty's wifdom in taking off from the French intereft fuch a powerful Prince as the Elector of Bavaria, and concerting other falutary meafures for preferving the balance of power on the Continent. He defended the articles of the late treaty with Spain; obferving, that what remained of the Affiento contract was a matter of very little confequence to the South-fea Company; that the demands

BOOK III. 1750.

mands of this company, and other Britiſh merchants, were all cancelled by the rupture with Spain, and more than recompenſed to the nation by a great balance of captures during the war, as well as by the great traffick carried on with the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, after it had been laid open by the demolition of their fortreſſes. He aſſerted, that by this treaty the Court of Spain had made many important conceſſions: they had condeſcended to pay a great ſum to the South-ſea Company: they had conſented to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh trade in Spain, upon a very advantageous and ſolid footing, by agreeing that the ſubjects of Great-Britain ſhould pay no other duties on merchandize than thoſe exacted of his Catholick Majeſty's own ſubjects, and to aboliſh all innovations that had been introduced into the commerce. He affirmed, that the article of No Search was a ſtipulation which it would have been ridiculous to inſiſt upon; and thought proper to obviate a reproach which he foreſaw the oppoſition would throw upon him, from the circumſtance of his having, upon a former occaſion, heartily concurred in a motion for an addreſs, That no treaty of peace with Spain ſhould be admitted, unleſs ſuch a ſtipulation ſhould be firſt obtained as a preliminary. He owned he had ſtrenuouſly contended for ſuch a motion, becauſe at that time, being very young and ſanguine, he thought it right and reaſonable: but he was now ten years older, had conſidered matters more coolly, and was convinced that the privilege of No Search, with reſpect to Britiſh veſſels ſailing near the American ſhore, would never be obtained, unleſs Spain ſhould be brought ſo low as to acquieſce in any terms we as victors might propoſe. He likewiſe ſignified his conviction, that all addreſſes from the Houſe of Commons, during the courſe of a war, for preſcribing terms of peace, were in themſelves ridiculous; and that every ſuch addreſs was an encroachment on the King's prerogative, which had

always

always been attended with unlucky consequences. How far these arguments are satisfactory, conclusive, and consistent, we shall leave to the reader's determination. Certain it is, they were adopted by the majority, and the address was presented without further opposition.

CHAP. I.

1750.

§ XLVIII. The two grand committees appointed to discuss the supplies for the ensuing year, and the funds upon which they were to be raised, proceeded, as usual, under the direction of the ministry; yet not without some vehement opposition, in which certain servants of the Crown expressed the most hearty concurrence. When a motion was made for reducing the number of seamen to eight thousand, Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. Littelton, and Mr. G. Grenville opposed it with all their might of argument and elocution; but they were over-ruled. Annual debates were also revived, with the same success, upon the number of troops constituting the standing army; but the other resolutions of the grand committees met with little or no opposition. The number of seamen for the ensuing year was limited to eight thousand: and that of the standing forces continued at eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven effective men, including one thousand eight hundred and fifteen invalids. The Commons granted a considerable sum of money for paying off the principal of such redeemable stocks as had not been subscribed, in pursuance of two acts passed in the last session for reducing the interest of annuities. Thirty thousand pounds were given for fulfilling the King's engagement with the Elector of Bavaria: large grants were made for supplying deficiencies, and replacing sums borrowed from the sinking-fund. The expence incurred by the new colony in Nova-Scotia, not provided for by Parliament, exceeded fifty-seven thousand pounds; and the maintenance of it for the ensuing year was fixed at fifty-three thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds, fourteen shillings,

 and

BOOK III. 1750.

and four-pence. An enormous charge! if we consider to how little purpose all this bounty was bestowed. A fund was established under the sanction of Parliament, for the relief and maintenance of the widows of sea-officers, by allowing, upon the books of every ship of war in sea-pay, the wages and victuals of one man for every hundred of which the complement shall consist, for such time only as the number of men employed in the service of the Royal navy shall not exceed twenty thousand. This was an additional indulgence, over and above the allowance of one man granted by a former act of Parliament. On the whole, the provisions of this year amounted to five millions one hundred twenty-five thousand twenty-three pounds, eleven shillings, and seven-pence, to be raised by the usual duties: the sum of one million twenty-six thousand four hundred seventy-six pounds, four shillings, and six-pence, advanced by the Bank of England, to pay off their own unsubscribed annuities, for which they accepted Exchequer-bills at three per cent. interest; by the land-tax at three shillings in the pound; a lottery and annuities, at the rate of three per cent. per ann. to be charged on the sinking-fund, redeemable by Parliament. The annual measure called the mutiny-bill was not passed without dispute and altercation: some alterations were proposed, but not adopted; and the sentences of court-martials still subjected to one revision.

§ XLIX. In the midst of these deliberations the kingdom was alarmed with an event which overwhelmed the people with grief and consternation. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in consequence of a cold caught in his garden at Kew, was seized with a pleuretick disorder; and, after a short illness, expired on the twentieth day of March, to the unspeakable affliction of his Royal Consort, and the unfeigned sorrow of all who wished well to their country. This excellent Prince, who now died in the

the forty-fifth year of his age, was possessed of every amiable quality which could engage the affection of the people, a tender and obliging husband, a fond parent, a kind master, liberal, generous, candid, and humane; a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit; well disposed to assert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the interest of Great-Britain. The nation could not but be afflicted at seeing a Prince of such expectations ravished from their hopes; and their grief was the better founded, as the King had already attained to an advanced age, and the heir-apparent, George, now Prince of Wales, was a minor.

CHAP. I. 1750.

§ L. His Majesty, foreseeing all the inconveniencies which might arise from a minority, deliberated with his council on this subject, and resolved to obtain a parliamentary sanction for the measures judged necessary to secure the succession. With this view he sent a message to both Houses on the twenty-sixth day of April, importing, That nothing could conduce so much to the preservation of the Protestant succession in his Royal Family, as proper provisions for the tuition of the person of his successor, and for the regular administration of the government, in case the successor should be of tender years: his Majesty, therefore, earnestly recommended this weighty affair to the deliberation of Parliament; and proposed, that when the Imperial Crown of these realms should descend to any of the late Prince's sons, being under the age of eighteen years, his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, should be guardian of his person, and regent of these kingdoms, until he should attain the age of majority, with such powers and limitations as should appear necessary and expedient for these purposes. This message produced a very affectionate address, promising to take the affair into their serious consideration; and in the beginning of May the Duke of Newcastle presented to the House of Peers a bill

An. 1751.

BOOK III. 1751.

to provide for the adminiſtration of government, in caſe the crown ſhould deſcend to a minor. The bill was read a ſecond time, and committed, when a ſecond meſſage arrived from his Majeſty, recommending to their conſideration the ſettlement of ſuch a council of regency as the bill propoſed, conſiſting of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, who at that time commanded the army, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord High Treaſurer, or firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the Preſident of the Council, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord High-Admiral of Great-Britain, or firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, the two principal Secretaries of State, and the Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench; all theſe great officers, except his Royal Highneſs the Duke, for the time being. This bill did not paſs through the Lower Houſe without violent debate and bitter ſarcaſms. The council of regency, though eſpouſed by all the miniſtry, including the Paymaſter-general, met with fierce oppoſition, as an unneceſſary and fatal reſtriction, that would impede the machine of government, and, as the council was conſtituted, might be productive of the moſt pernicious conſequence. Some of the members ventured even to inſinuate the danger of leaving at the head of a large ſtanding army a Prince of the Blood veſted with a ſhare of the regency, poſſeſſed of great perſonal influence, the darling of the ſoldiery, brave, popular, and enterpriſing: ſuppoſed not wholly devoid of ambition, and not at all remarkable for any ſymptoms of extraordinary affection towards the perſon of the heir-apparent. The hiſtory of England was ranſacked for invidious inſtances of Royal uncles and regents, who had injured the Sovereigns, and diſtreſſed the government, by their pride, cruelty, and ambition. The characters of John Lackland, and John of Gaunt, Humphrey and Richard Dukes of Glouceſter, were called in review, canvaſſed, compared,

pared, and quoted, with ſome odious applications: but the majority, being convinced of the loyalty, virtue, integrity, and great abilities of his Royal Highneſs, to whom the nation owed obligations of the moſt important nature, paſſed the bill with a few amendments, in which the Lords acquieſced; and in a little time it received the Royal ſanction. CHAP. I. 1751.

§ II. The death of the Prince of Wales was fatal to a bill which had been brought into the Houſe of Commons, for naturalizing all foreign Proteſtants who ſhould ſettle within the dominions of Great-Britain. Political arithmeticians have generally taken it for granted, that to every commercial nation an increaſe of people is an increaſe of opulence; and this maxim is certainly true, on the ſuppoſition that every individual is induſtrious, and that there is a ſufficient field for employment; but all theſe general maxims ought to be received under certain qualifications. When all branches of manufacture are overſtocked, an addition of workmen will doubtleſs be an additional incumbrance on the community. In the debates which this bill produced, the members of the miniſtry were divided among themſelves. The meaſure was enforced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. W. Pitt, and Mr. Littelton; and in oppoſing it the Earl of Egmont was joined by Mr. Fox, Secretary at War. Petitions and counter-petitions were preſented by the merchants of London, Briſtol, and other trading towns of the kingdom. All merchants and traders of foreign extraction exerted themſelves vigorouſly in its behalf, and it was without doubt countenanced by the adminiſtration; but the project was odious to the people in general. The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, in Common-Council aſſembled, compoſed a remonſtrance to the Lower Houſe, ſetting forth the danger and inutility of a general naturalization of foreign Proteſtants. A petition of the merchants and principal inhabitants of Briſtol

BOOK III. 1751. Bristol represented that such a law would be prejudicial to the trade and commerce of this kingdom, by preventing many industrious artificers from procuring a sufficient support for themselves and their families, and of consequence increasing the rates of the poor: that the introduction of such a number of foreigners, instead of being a support to the present happy establishment, might endanger the very basis of our constitution: that it would greatly tend to the diminution of our manufactures, as many strangers would doubtless come and reside in England for a time, in order to learn the methods and management of our manufactures and artificers; and, after having obtained this instruction, return to their native countries, where they would establish and carry on works of the same nature. The twentieth day of March being appointed for the third reading of the bill, it was postponed, in consequence of the unfortunate death of the Prince of Wales; and other petitions from different cities of the kingdom being mustered against it in the sequel, the ministry did not think proper to persist in any unpopular measure at such a delicate conjuncture; so the bill was no more brought upon the carpet. Divers other regulations, relating to civil policy as well as to the commerce of Great-Britain, were propounded in the House of Commons; but these proposals proved abortive, either because they appeared crude and indigested in themselves, or the House could not obtain proper information touching the allegations they contained.

§ LII. There were no other transactions in this session, except the concurrence of both Houses in stigmatising a printed paper, intitled, "Constitutional Queries, earnestly recommended to the serious consideration of every true Briton;" and the steps taken by the Commons, in consequence of the commotions occasioned by the Westminster election. The above mentioned paper, which had been

conveyed

conveyed by letter to the majority of both Houſes, was communicated to the Lords in the month of January by the Duke of Marlborough, who moved for reſolutions againſt it as a ſeditious libel, and that the concurrence of the Commons might be deſired. A conference accordingly enſued, and both Houſes concurred in voting the paper a falſe, malicious, ſcandalous, infamous, and ſeditious libel, containing the moſt falſe, audacious, and abominable calumnies and indignities upon his Majeſty, and the moſt preſumptuous and wicked inſinuations that our laws, liberties, and properties, and the excellent conſtitution of this kingdom, were in danger under his Majeſty's legal, mild, and gracious government, with intent to inſtil groundleſs ſuſpicions and jealouſies into the minds of his Majeſty's good ſubjects, and to alienate their affections from his Majeſty and the Royal Family. It was, therefore, reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament aſſembled; That, in abhorrence and deteſtation of ſuch abominable and ſeditious practices, the paper ſhould be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the new Palace yard of Weſtminſter; and this ſentence was executed accordingly. Then they preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, deſiring that the moſt effectual means might be taken for diſcovering the author, printer, or publiſher, that he or they might be brought to condign puniſhment. Directions were given for this purpoſe; but without effect. Thoſe concerned in writing, printing, and circulating the paper, had acted with ſuch caution, that not one of them was ever diſcovered.

CHAP. I. 1751.

§ LIII. The proceedings of the Commons with reſpect to the election of a burgeſs for Weſtminſter were attended with ſome extraordinary circumſtances, which we ſhall now record, for the edification of thoſe who pique themſelves on the privileges of a Britiſh ſubject. We have already obſerved, that a majority appearing on the poll for Lord

BOOK III. 1751.

Lord Trentham, the adherents of the other candidate, Sir George Vandeput, demanded a ſcrutiny, which was granted by the High-bailiff of Weſtminſter, the returning officer. During this tedious inveſtigation, which rolled chiefly on the qualifications of voters, he acted with ſuch addreſs and ſeeming candour as gave entire ſatisfaction to both parties, till at length he determined in favour of Lord Trentham, whom he returned as duly elected. Thoſe who ſtiled themſelves the Independent Electors did not acquieſce in this determination without clamour, reproach, menaces, and riot. They taxed Mr. Leigh, the High-bailiff, with partiality and injuſtice: they loudly affirmed, that miniſterial influence had been uſed in the moſt ſcandalous manner; and, finally, joined Sir George Vandeput in a petition to the Lower Houſe, complaining of an undue election and return of a member for the city of Weſtminſter. The Commons, inſtead of enquiring into the merits of theſe petitions, ordered them to lie upon the table; and, without any complaint from any perſon whatever, a motion was made that Leigh, the High-bailiff, ſhould attend the Houſe immediately, in order to make them acquainted with what he had done in purſuance of the directions he had formerly received from that Houſe, touching the execution of the writ for electing a new member to repreſent the city of Weſtminſter. As this motion had been preconcerted, Leigh was attending in the lobby, and immediately called into the Houſe to be examined on this ſubject. Having, in the courſe of his examination, alledged that the election had been protracted by affected delays, he was aſked by whom, and by what means; but, before he could anſwer, the Earl of Egmont, interpoſing, objected to the queſtion as improper, and moved for the order of the day. A debate immediately enſued, in which the impropriety of the queſtion was demonſtrated by Mr. Henley, now Lord-keeper, Dr. Lee, and ſome others,

others, the moſt ſenſible and moderate members of the Houſe: but they were oppoſed with great violence by Lord Viſcount Corke, Henry Fox, Eſq. Sir William Young, Colonel Lyttelton, and the weight of the miniſtry; ſo that the motion for the order of the day was carried in the negative, and the High-bailiff required to anſwer the queſtion. Thus interrogated, he declared that he had been impeded in the ſcrutiny, and mal-treated, by Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counſel for Sir George Vandeput, by the Honourable Alexander Murray, brother to Lord Elibank, and one Gibſon, an upholſterer, who had been very active, zealous, and turbulent in his endeavours to promote the intereſt of Sir George Vandeput, or rather to thwart the pretenſions of the other candidate, who was ſuppoſed to be countenanced by the miniſtry. Theſe three perſons, thus accuſed, were brought to the bar of the Houſe, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous remonſtrances of ſeveral members, who oppoſed this method of proceeding, as a ſpecies of oppreſſion equally arbitrary and abſurd. They obſerved, that, as no complaint had been preferred, they had no right to take cognizance of the affair: that if any undue influence had been uſed, it would naturally appear when the merits of the election ſhould fall under their enquiry: that a complaint having been lodged already againſt the returning officer, it was their duty to inveſtigate his conduct, and puniſh him, if he ſhould be found delinquent; but that nothing could be more flagrantly unjuſt, and apparently partial, than their neglecting the petitions of the other candidate and electors, and encouraging the High-bailiff, who ſtood charged with iniquity, to recriminate upon his accuſers, that they might be diſabled from giving evidence on the enquiry into the merits of the election. What difference is it to the ſubject, whether he is oppreſſed by an arbitrary Prince, or by the deſpotick inſolence of a miniſterial majority? Mr. Crowle

BOOK III. 1751.

Crowle alledged, in his own vindication, that he had been employed as counſel by the electors of Weſtminſter, and attended the ſcrutiny in that character; that after the High-bailiff had, in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, received the order of the Houſe to expedite the election, he hurried on the ſcrutiny with ſuch precipitation as, he apprehended, was unjuſt, and prejudicial to his clients; that, in this apprehenſion, he (Mr. Crowle) inſiſted upon the High-bailiff's proceeding with more deliberation, and in ſo doing he thought he did his duty to his employers. Some evidence being examined againſt him, declared he had not only protracted the ſcrutiny, but alſo ſpoken diſreſpectful words of the Houſe of Commons: he was therefore, reprimanded on his knees by the Speaker, and diſcharged.

§ LIV. Mr. Murray being charged with having uttered ſome threatening and affrontive expreſſions, the Houſe adjourned the conſideration of this affair for ſome days, at the expiration of which Mr. Murray was to be heard by his counſel: but, in the mean time, they ordered him to be taken into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms attending the Houſe. This ſtep, however, was not taken without a warm oppoſition by ſome of the moſt ſedate and intelligent members of the Houſe, who conſidered it as a cruel act of oppreſſion. They obſerved, that in caſes of breach of privilege no perſon complained of was ever taken into cuſtody, until after he had been fully heard in his defence: that this was literally prejudging the cauſe before it had been examined; and the oppreſſion was the greater, as the alledged offence conſiſted entirely of words, of which no complaint or information had been made for above eight months after the ſuppoſed offence had been committed; and, even then, not till an accuſation had been lodged againſt the informant, upon the trial of which accuſation the perſons informed

againſt might very probably be the moſt material witneſſes. They obſerved, that in one of the higheſt offences which can be committed by words, namely, that of denying the King's right to the crown, or renouncing the Trinity, the information muſt be brought in three or four days after the words are ſpoken; the words muſt be proved to have been ſpoken maliciouſly, directly, and adviſedly, and the proſecution muſt commence in three months after the information. Theſe ſuggeſtions made no more impreſſion than if they had been uttered in a deſert. Thoſe who were ſecure in their number aſſerted that the Houſe of Commons was not reſtricted by the forms of proceedings at common law; and that it was neceſſary to vindicate their own honour and dignity, by making examples of thoſe who ſeemed to hold them in contempt. Mr. Murray was committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, and found bail; and Gibſon was ſent priſoner to Newgate, from whence he was in a few days releaſed, upon preſenting an humble petition, profeſſing his ſorrow for having incurred the diſpleaſure of the Houſe, to the bar of which he was brought, and received a reprimand on his knees from the Speaker. In the mean time, divers witneſſes being examined before the Houſe, declared, That Mr. Murray had been ſeen, about the time of the return of a member for Weſtminſter, heading and exciting a tumult to acts of violence againſt the High-bailiff. The majority, therefore, after a long and warm debate, agreed, That for his dangerous and ſeditious practices, in violation and contempt of the privileges of the Houſe, and of the freedom of elections, he ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate. Then, in the cloſe of another violent debate, they reſolved, That he ſhould be brought to the bar of the Houſe, to receive that ſentence on his knees. He accordingly appeared, and being directed by the Speaker to kneel, refuſed to comply.

He

BOOK III. 1751.

He knew that he could not be discharged from Newgate during the session, without petitioning, acknowledging his offence, and making such concessions as he thought would imply a consciousness of guilt: he considered this whole transaction as an oppressive exertion of arbitrary power, and, being apprised of the extent of their authority, determined to bear the brunt of their indignation, rather than make submissions which he deemed beneath the dignity of his character. When he refused to humble himself the whole House was in commotion; he was no sooner removed from the bar than they resolved, That his having in a most insolent and audacious manner refused to be on his knees at the bar of that House, in consequence of their former resolution, was a high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the Commons: it was, therefore, ordered, that he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper; and that no person should have access to him without the leave of the House. Finally, a committee was appointed to consider what methods might be proper to be taken by them, in relation to this instance of contempt. Meanwhile, the petitioners against the return made by the High-bailiff, perceiving the temper of the House, and the complexion of the majority, withdrew their petition; and the order which had passed for hearing the merits of the election was discharged. Mr. Murray being taken dangerously ill in Newgate, application was made to the Commons, by some of his relations, that he might be removed to a more convenient situation; and his physician, being examined, gave it as his opinion that he was infected with the gaol distemper. Upon this representation the House agreed that the Speaker should issue a warrant for removing him from Newgate to the custody of the serjeant at arms; but this favour he refused to accept, and expressed the warmest resent-

ment

ment against those relations who had applied to the Commons in his behalf. Thus he remained sequestered even from his own brother and sister, under the displeasure of the Commons of England, who condescended so far as to make resolutions touching the physician, apothecary, and nurse who attended this prisoner. But the prorogation of Parliament having put an end to their authority for that session, Mr. Murray was discharged of course, and conducted by the sheriffs from Newgate to his own house, in procession, with flags and streamers exhibiting the emblems of liberty.

§ LV. In the month of June the session was closed with a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty thanked both Houses for the zeal and affection they had manifested towards him and his government; and congratulated the Commons in particular, upon their firmness and prudence in reducing the interest of the national debt, a measure as agreeable to him as essential to the strength and welfare of the kingdom*.—The interior œconomy of Great-Britain produced, within the circle of this year, nothing else worthy of historical regard, except a series of enormous crimes, arising from the profligacy of individuals, which reflected disgrace upon the morals and the polity of the nation. Rapine and robbery had domineered without intermission ever since the return of peace, which was attended with a reduction of the army and navy; but now crimes of a

* One of the most remarkable acts which passed in the course of this session, was that for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar, according to the Gregorian computation, which had been adopted by all other nations in Europe. By this new law it was decreed that the new year should begin on the first day of January, and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the second and fourteenth days of September, 1752, should for that time be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second should be denominated the fourteenth of that month. By this establishment of the new stile, the equinoxes and solstices will happen nearly on the same nominal days on which they fell in the year 325, at the council of Nice; and the correspondence between the English merchants and those of foreign countries, will be greatly facilitated, with respect to the dates of letters and accounts.

BOOK III. 1751.

deeper dye seemed to lift up their heads, in contempt of law and humanity*. Every day almost produced fresh instances of perjury, forgery, fraud, and circumvention; and the kingdom exhibited a most amazing jumble of virtue and vice, honour and infamy, compassion and obduracy, sentiment and brutality.

* An indulgent parent was poisoned by his only daughter, on whom, besides other marks of tenderness and paternal affection, he had bestowed a liberal education, which greatly aggravated her guilt and ingratitude. Another young woman was concerned in the assassination of her own uncle, who had been her constant benefactor and sole guardian. A poor old woman, having from the ignorance and superstition of her neighbours, incurred the suspicion of sorcery and witchcraft, was murdered in Hertfordshire by the populace, with all the wantonnness of barbarity. Rape and murder were perpetrated upon an unfortunate woman in the neighbourhood of London, and an innocent man suffered death for this complicated outrage, while the real criminals, assisted at his execution, heard him appeal to heaven for his innocence, and in the character of friends, embraced him, while he stood on the brink of eternity.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§ I. *Death of the Queen of Denmark and Prince of Orange.* § II. *Misunderstanding between the Czarina and King of Prussia.* § III. *Measures for electing a King of the Romans.* § IV. *Death of the King of Sweden.* § V. *Session opened. Animosity of the Commons towards Mr. Murray.* § VI. *Proceedings upon a pamphlet, intituled the case of Mr. Murray.* § VII. *Supplies granted.* § VIII. *Civil regulations.* § IX. *Law relating to the forfeited estates in Scotland.* § X. *New consolidations of funds.* § XI. *Two ports opened for the importation of Irish wool.* § XII. *The King sets out for Hanover.* § XIII. *Affairs of the continent.* § XIV. *Dispute between Hanover and Prussia, concerning East-Friezeland.* § XV. *Misunderstanding between the Courts of London and Berlin.* § XVI. *Improvement of Pomerania.* § XVII. *Treaty with the Elector Palatine.* § XVIII. *Session opened.* § XIX. *Supplies granted.* § XX. *Game act.* § XXI. *Act for performing quarantine.* § XXII. *And for preventing the plundering of shipwrecked vessels.* § XXIII. *Bill relating to the bounty on corn exported.* § XXIV. *Turkey trade laid open.* § XXV. *Naturalization of the Jews.* § XXVI. *Marriage act.* § XXVII. *Deliberations concerning the sugar colonies.* § XXVIII. *Fate of the register bill.* § XXIX. *Sir Hans Sloane's Museum purchased by Parliament.* § XXX. *Story of Elizabeth Canning.* § XXXI. *Execution of Dr. Cameron.* § XXXII. *Tumults in different parts of the kingdom.* § XXXIII. *Disturbances in France.* § XXXIV. *Proceedings of the diet relative to East-Friezeland.* § XXXV. *Treaty between the Court of Vienna and the Duke of Marlborough.* § XXXVI. *Conferences with respect to Nova-Scotia broke up.* § XXXVII. *Description of Nova-Scotia.* § XXXVIII. *Disputes concerning its limits.*

§ I.

BOOK III. 1751.

§ I. THE royal family of England had sustained three severe shocks in the compass of a few months. Besides the loss of the Prince of Wales, which the nation lamented as irreparable, his Majesty was deeply afflicted by the untimely death of his youngest daughter, the Queen of Denmark, who died at Copenhagen, on the nineteenth day of December, in the prime of youth. She was one of the most amiable princesses of the age in which she lived, whether we consider the virtues of her heart, or the accomplishments of her person; generous, mild, and tender-hearted; beloved even almost to adoration by her royal consort, to whom she had borne a Prince and two Princesses; and universally admired and revered by the subjects of his Danish Majesty. Her death had been preceded about two months by that of her brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, no less regretted by the natives of the United Provinces, for his candour, integrity, and hereditary love to his country. Though he had not distinguished himself by the lustre of a superior genius, he had been at great pains to cultivate his understanding, and study the true interest of that community of which he was a member. He had always approved himself a good and zealous citizen, and, since his elevation to the Stadtholdership, taken many salutary steps for the advantage of his country. Among other excellent schemes which he suggested, he left a noble plan with the States-General for restoring their commerce to its former lustre, and lived long enough to receive their warmest acknowledgements for this last proof of his prudence and patriotism. His son and daughter being both infants, the administration of the government devolved upon the Princess, as Governante during her son's minority; and as such she succeeded to all the power which her husband had enjoyed.

§ II. With respect to the affairs of the continent, the peace of the North seemed still as precarious

as ever: for though the difference between Ruſſia and Sweden had been compromiſed, the mutual diſguſt between the Czarina and the King of Pruſſia had gained ſuch acceſſion from reciprocal inſults, ill-offices, and inflammatory declarations, that theſe two powers ſeemed to be on the eve of a rupture, and each was employed in making extraordinary preparations for war. The Courts of Vienna and Great-Britain, foreſeeing that ſuch a rupture would embroil the empire, and raiſe inſurmountable obſtructions to their favourite ſcheme of electing the Archduke Joſeph King of the Romans, reſolved to employ all their influence, in order to effect a reconciliation between the Courts of Peterſburgh and Berlin. His Pruſſian Majeſty had ſignified to the King of Great-Britain, and the States-General, the ſituation in which he ſtood with the Czarina, and ſolicited their interpoſition, that the difference might be amicably accommodated. At the ſame time, he ſent an envoy-extraordinary to Verſailles, to negociate with the French King for a very conſiderable body of auxiliaries, in caſe he ſhould be attacked. Theſe circumſtances induced the Maritime Powers, and the Court of Vienna, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for the prevention of a rupture; and accordingly they made remonſtrances on this ſubject by their miniſters at Peterſburgh, propoſing that the quarrel ſhould be terminated without bloodſhed, and all cauſe of animoſity be buried in oblivion.

§ III. In the mean time, they eagerly proſecuted the deſign of the election; and the Imperial miniſter at Berlin not only communicated to his Pruſſian Majeſty the ſentiments of the King of England on this expedient, but even ſolicited his vote for the Archduke Joſeph, when the election of a King of the Romans ſhould be propoſed in the electoral college. To this propoſal he replied, That he was extremely well diſpoſed to manifeſt his regard for

BOOK III. 1751. their Imperial Majesties, and to give the most genuine proofs of it, even in the proposed election of a King of the Romans, considering the great merit of the present candidate, the Archduke Joseph: but he left it to the consideration of their Imperial Majesties, whether the election would not be a little premature, if transacted at a time when his Imperial Majesty was in the flower of his age; enjoying perfect health; and when all Europe, particularly the Empire, was hushed in the bosom of tranquillity, so that no circumstance seemed to prognosticate the necessity of such an election, or of putting in execution the motives mentioned in the capitulation of the reigning Emperor's election; especially as the examination of these motives belonged to the whole Empire, and ought to precede the election, by virtue of the eighth article of the treaty of Westphalia. He observed, that, in case of the Emperor's death, Germany would find herself in a very disagreeable situation, under the government of a minor. For these reasons, he said, he could not help advising their Imperial Majesties to wait until the Archduke should be of age, when his election might be carried on more conformably to the laws and constitutions of the Empire, and more suitable to the majesty of the whole Germanick body. This reply he circulated among the electors, and in particular transmitted it to the King of Great-Britain, desiring they would deliberate maturely on this subject, and confer together in a body, as well as in private, that they might proceed according to the ancient custom of the electoral college, and take such measures as should be judged expedient for the honour and advantage of the community. This circular letter was answered both by the King of England and the Elector of Bavaria, who demonstrated, that it was the privilege of the Electoral college only, without any participation of the other Princes of the Empire, to elect a King of the Ro-

mans

mans during the life of the Emperor, in order to maintain the peace and preferve the liberties of Germany; and that the neglect of this wife precaution hath produced bloody wars, and many fatal confequences to the Empire. They obferved, that nothing could more contribute to the eftablifhment of the publick tranquillity than this meafure, fo ardently defired by the majority of the German Princes; and that, although the Archduke Jofeph wanted a few years of being of age, and it might poffibly happen that the reigning Emperor fhould die during that Prince's minority, yet it would be much lefs prejudicial to the Empire to have a minor chief, than to fee the fucceffion altogether unfettled. His Pruffian Majefty received a declaration to the fame purpofe from the Elector of Mentz; and underftanding that this Prince, as Arch-Chancellor of the Empire intended to convoke an electoral diet, in order to propofe the election of a King of the Romans, he wrote an elaborate letter to his Electoral Highnefs, explaining at more length, his reafons for poftponing the election. He quoted that fentence of the treaty of Weftphalia which exprefsly declares, that the election of a King of the Romans fhall be difcuffed and ordained by the common confent of the States of the Empire; and, therefore, he could not conceive what right the electoral college had to arrogate this privilege to themfelves, excluding the other States of the Empire. He obferved, that the Imperial capitulations, which were the only laws of the Empire that treated of this fubject, mentioned only three cafes in which it was lawful to proceed to fuch an election; namely, the Emperor's leaving, and long abfence from, Germany; his advanced age, or an indifpofition, rendering him incapable of managing the reins of government; and any cafe of emergency in which the prefervation of the Empire's profperity is interefted. He affirmed, that none of thefe motives at prefent exifted: that, in cafe the

BOOK III. 1751.

Imperial crown ſhould devolve to a minor, many miſchiefs and diſorders muſt enſue, as the conſtitutions of the Empire have eſtabliſhed no regulations nor regency in that event: that an election of this nature, carried on under the power, influence, and authority of the head of the Empire, would ſtrike at the fundamental privileges of the Princes and States; conſequently, in time overturn the conſtitution of the Empire, which, from being an elective dignity, conferred by the free and independent ſuffrages of the electoral college and States of Germany, under certain capitulations, obliging the Prince thus choſen to govern according to law, would become an hereditary ſucceſſion, perpetuated in one family, which, of courſe, muſt be aggrandiſed to the prejudice of its co-eſtates, and the ruin of the Germanick liberties. In a word, all Germany in general, and Ratiſbon in particular, was filled with writings publiſhed on both ſides: by the Emperor and his adherents, to demonſtrate that the election of a King of the Romans, during the life of the Emperor, had often happened, and at this preſent time was neceſſary, and would be advantageous to the Empire: while the King of Pruſſia and his friends laboured to prove that ſuch an election, at the preſent juncture, would be ill-timed, irregular, and of dangerous conſequence. Perhaps, if the truth was known, this enterpriſing Prince had projected ſome great ſcheme, with the execution of which this propoſed eſtabliſhment would have interfered. Certain it is, he exerted himſelf with that ſpirit and perſeverance which were peculiar to his character to fruſtrate the intention of the Courts of Vienna and London in this particular, and was aſſiſted with all the intrigue of the French miniſtry. Their joint endeavours were ſo effectual, that the Elector of Cologn renounced his ſubſidiary treaty with the Maritime Powers, and once more threw himſelf into the arms of France. The Elector

Palatine

Palatine being solicited by the Empress-Queen and his Britannick Majesty to co-operate with their views, insisted, as a preliminary article, upon being indemnified by the Court of Vienna for the ravages committed in his territories by the Austrian troops, during the course of the last war: the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, made the same demand of the like indemnification, which was granted by the mediation of King George: and then he subscribed to a subsidy-treaty, obliging himself to furnish a body of six thousand auxiliaries, in case they should be required by the Maritime Powers; and to act as Elector, in concert with the House of Austria, in every thing relating to the welfare of his country that should square with the fundamental laws of the Empire. The Courts of London and Vienna had this election so much at heart, that they sounded almost all the powers of Europe, to know how the stood affected towards the measure proposed. They King of Spain declined intermeddling in a domestick affair of the Empire. The French King returned an ambiguous answer; from whence it was concluded, that nothing but opposition could be expected from that quarter. The Swedish Monarch was rendered propitious to the project, by assurances that the House of Hesse-Cassel, of which he was the head, should be elevated into an electorate. They even endeavoured to soften his Prussian Majesty, by consenting, at last, that the treaty of Dresden, confirming to him the possession of Silesia, should be guaranteed by the diet of the Empire; a sanction which he now actually obtained, together with the ratification of his Imperial Majesty. Notwithstanding this indulgence, he still persisted in raising fresh objections to the favourite project, on pretence of concerting measures for preventing the inconveniences that might result from a minority; for regulating the capitulations to be agreed on with the King of the Romans; securing the freedom of future elections,

CHAP. II.

1751.

BOOK III. 1751. elections, and preserving the prerogatives and privileges of the Germanick body in all its members. In consequence of these obstacles, joined to the apostacy of the Elector of Cologn, the obstinacy of the Elector Palatine, and the approaching diet of Hungary, at which their Imperial Majesties were obliged personally to preside, the measures for the election were suspended till next summer, when his Britannick Majesty was expected at Hanover, to put the finishing stroke to this great event in favour of the House of Austria.

§ IV. Another disappointment, with respect to this election, the promoters of it sustained in the death of his Swedish Majesty, who expired in a good old age, and was succeeded by Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Holstein Eutin, Bishop of Lubeck, upon whom the succession had been settled for some years, by the unanimous concurrence of the States of the kingdom. This Prince ascended the throne of Sweden without the least disturbance; and, of his own accord, took an oath in full senate, that he would never attempt to introduce a despotick authority; but maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his subjects in all respects according to the laws, and the form of government established in Sweden. This publick act, which was communicated to all the foreign ministers, and particularly to the envoy from Petersburgh, met with such a favourable reception from the Czarina, that she expressed her satisfaction in a publick declaration; and the good understanding between the two courts was perfectly restored.

§ V. When the Parliament of England was opened, in the month of November, the King, in his speech from the throne, gave them to understand, That for the same purposes which suggested the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, he had now, in conjunction with the States-General, concluded another with the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony. He told

told them, that the unfortunate death of the Prince of Orange had made no alteration in the ſtate of affairs in Holland; and that he had received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the States, of their firm reſolution to maintain the intimate union and friendſhip happily ſubſiſting between his Majeſty and thoſe ancient and natural allies of his crown. He exhorted both Houſes to conſider ſeriouſly of ſome effectual provſions, to ſuppreſs thoſe audacious crimes of robbery and violence, grown ſo frequent about the capital, proceeding in a great meaſure from that profligate ſpirit of irreligion, idleneſs, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itſelf in an uncommon degree, to the diſhonour of the nation, and the great offence and prejudice of the ſober, and induſtrious part of the people. The paragraphs of this ſpeech were, as uſual, echoed back to the throne in addreſſes, replete with expreſſions of loyalty, affection, and approbation. Oppoſition was by this time almoſt extinguiſhed; and the proceedings of both Houſes took place with ſuch unanimity as was hardly ever known before this period in a Britiſh Parliament. The Commons, however, ſeem to have aſſembled with ſuch ſentiments as did no great honour to their temper and magnanimity. In a few days after the ſeſſion opened, Lord Viſcount C——e, a young nobleman, whoſe character entitled him to very little regard or influence among men of ſenſe and probity, made a motion, that Mr. Murray, who had been ſo ſeverely perſecuted in the laſt ſeſſion for refuſing to humble himſelf on his knees before them, ſhould be again committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate for the ſame offence. This propoſal, which ſuppoſed a power that the Commons had never before exerciſed, was ſharply diſputed by the Earl of Egmont, and others, who had not reſigned all ſenſe of moderation; but the majority adopted the meaſure with great eagerneſs, and the Speaker was ordered

BOOK III. 1751.

ordered to iſſue his warrant accordingly. Then the Houſe reſolved, That the ſaid Alexander Murray ſhould receive the ſentence, for his now being committed cloſe priſoner to his Majeſty's gaol of Newgate, at the bar of the Houſe, upon his knees; and the Serjeant at Arms was commanded to take him into cuſtody for this purpoſe. Their indignation, however, was eluded by the caution of the delinquent, who, having foreſeen the effects of their reſentment, had prudently retired to another country. They determined, nevertheleſs, to proceed againſt him as a perſon of ſome conſequence in the commonwealth; for, being informed of his retreat, they condeſcended ſo far as to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty, deſiring that his royal proclamation might be iſſued for apprehending the ſaid Mr. Murray, promiſing a reward to him who ſhould have the good fortune to apprehend this fugitive—a requeſt with which his Majeſty moſt graciouſly complied.

§ VI. Nor was this the only addreſs preſented to the King upon ſuch an important ſubject. A pamphlet, intitled, " The Caſe of the Hon. Alexander Murray, Eſquire, in an Appeal to the People of Great-Britain," was firſt ſtigmatized in a complaint to the Houſe, and was afterwards produced, and read at the table. The piece was written with great acrimony, and abounded with ſevere animadverſions, not only upon the conduct of the returning officer, but alſo on the proceedings of the Commons. The violent members immediately took fire, and the flame extended itſelf to the majority. Nay, the Houſe unanimouſly reſolved, That the pamphlet was an impudent, malicious, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, falſely and moſt injuriouſly reflecting upon, and aſperſing the proceedings of the Houſe, tending to create miſapprehenſions in the minds of the people, to the great diſhonour of the ſaid Houſe, and in violation of the privileges thereof. They furthermore preſented an addreſs to the King, de-

ſiring

firing his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions to his Attorney-General to prosecute the authors or author, the printers or printer, and the publishers or publisher of the said scandalous libel, that they might be brought to condign punishment. Directions were accordingly given for this purpose, and a prosecution commenced against the publisher, who had some reason to be dismayed, considering the great weight of influence he was doomed to encounter—influence arising from a prosecution of the Crown, instituted at the request, and founded on a vote, of the House of Commons. Nevertheless, when the cause was heard before the Lord Chief Justice of England, a jury of free-born Englishmen, citizens of London, asserted their privilege of judging the law as well as the fact, and acquitted the defendant with a truly admirable spirit of independency. They considered the pamphlet as an appeal against oppression; and, convinced that the contents were true, they could not in conscience adjudge it a false libel, even though it had been so declared by one of the branches of the legislature.

§ VII. The Commons, in regulating the supplies of the ensuing year, voted the continuation of eighteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven men for the land-service, though not without some opposition from certain patriots, who, rather from a sense of duty than from any hope of influencing the majority, affirmed that sixteen thousand men in time of peace, would answer all the ends proposed by a standing army. The number of seamen was fixed at ten thousand; large sums were granted to make up deficiencies, and fulfil the engagements of the Crown with the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, as well as for the maintenance of Nova-Scotia and Georgia, and the castles on the coast of Guinea; and one hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and fifty-two pounds, three shillings, and threepence were voted, as a full compensation to the old

Royal

BOOK III. An. 1752. Royal African Company for their exclusive charter and property, to be applied for the relief of their creditors*.

§ VIII. The laws enacted for the encouragement of traffick, and the regulations of civil polity, consisted in an act for licensing pawnbrokers, and for the more effectual preventing the receiving of stolen goods: another for preventing thefts and robberies, by which places of entertainment, dancing, and musick in London, Westminster, and within twenty miles of the capital, were suppressed and prohibited, unless the proprietors of them could obtain licences from the justices of the peace, empowered for that purpose: a third for annexing the forfeited estates in Scotland unalienably in the Crown, after having made satisfaction to the lawful creditors; establishing a method of leasing these estates, and applying the rents and profits of them for the better civilising and improving the Highlands, and preventing future disorders in that part of the united kingdom. Nothing could be more salutary than the purposes of these regulations. The suburbs of the metropolis abounded with an incredible number of publick houses, which continually resounded with the noise of riot and intemperance: they were the haunts of idleness, fraud, and rapine; and the seminaries of drunkenness, debauchery, extravagance, and every vice incident to human nature: yet the suppression of these receptacles of infamy was attended with an inconvenience, which, in some cases, arose even to

* These expences were defrayed by a continuation of the duties on malt, &c. a land-tax at three shillings in the pound; a duty on licences, to be yearly paid by pawnbrokers and dealers in second-hand goods, within the bills of mortality; the sum of one million four hundred thousand pounds advanced by the Bank, according to a proposal made for that purpose; five hundred thousand pounds to be issued from the sinking-fund; a duty laid on gum senega; and the continuation of divers other occasional impositions. The grants for the year amounted to something less than four millions, and the provisions made for this expence exceeded it in the sum of two hundred seventy one thousand twenty-four pounds, ten shillings, and six-pence halfpenny.

a degree

a degree of oppreffion. The juftices being vefted by the legiflature, with the power of granting or refufing licences, were conftituted, in effect, the arbiters on whofe decifion the fortunes and livelihood of many individuals abfolutely depended. Many of thofe who exercifed this fpecies of magiftracy within the bills of mortality were, to the reproach of government, men of profligate lives, needy, mean, ignorant, and rapacious, and often acted from the moft fcandalous principles of felfifh avarice.

§ IX. The law relating to the Highlands of Scotland was well calculated for promoting, among the inhabitants of that country, fuch a fpirit of induftry as might detach them from their dangerous connections, and gradually fuperfede that military genius which had been fo productive of danger and alarm to the fouthern parts of Great-Britain. The King, by this act, was empowered to appoint Commiffioners for managing the forfeited eftates; who were enabled to grant leafes of fmall farms, not above twenty pounds a-year, to individuals, who fhould take an oath to government to refide upon and cultivate the lands thus let. It was alfo provided, that no leafe fhould be granted for a longer term than twenty-one years; and that the leffees fhould not pay above three-fourths of the annual value. Although thefe forfeited eftates were generally encumbered with claims beyond their real value, and the act directed that they fhould be difpofed of by publick fale; yet, as they lay in the moft difaffected parts of the Highlands, it was thought neceffary that they fhould remain in the poffeffion of the Crown, becaufe, in cafe of their being publickly fold, they might be purchafed in truft for the families of the perfons by whom they were forfeited, and thus the fpirit of difaffection would ftill furvive. A valuation, therefore, was made by the court of feffion in Scotland, at the joint fuit of the crown and the creditors; and the value being afcertained

BOOK III. 1752. the juſt claimants were paid out of the next aids granted by Parliament. The bill met with conſiderable oppoſition in the Houſe of Peers from the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Bath, who probably foreſaw that the good effects of this ſcheme, ſo laudable in itſelf, would be fruſtrated in the execution: and that the act, inſtead of anſwering the purpoſes for which it was intended, would ſerve only as a job to gratify the rapacious retainers to the government, and their emiſſaries, in that country. After a warm debate, however, it was adopted by a great majority, and obtained the Royal aſſent.

§ X. A third law related to certain articles of the national debt, which was now converted into ſeveral joint ſtocks of annuities, transferrable at the Bank of England, to be charged on the ſinking-fund. A great number of different funds for annuities, eſtabliſhed at different times, and by different acts, ſubſiſted at this period, ſo that it was neceſſary to keep many different accounts, which could not be regulated without conſiderable trouble and expence, for the removal of which the bill was calculated.

§ XI. In conſequence of petitions from the woollen manufacturers of Weſtmoreland and Yorkſhire, two bills were brought in, and paſſed through both Houſes, by which the ports of Lancaſter and Great Yarmouth were opened for the importation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland; but why this privilege was not extended to all the frequented ports of the kingdom it is not eaſy to conceive, without ſuppoſing a little national jealouſy on one hand, and a great deal of grievous reſtraint on the other. Over and above theſe new laws, ſome unſucceſsful endeavours were uſed in behalf of commerce and police. A bill was offered for laying further reſtrictions on pawnbrokers and brokers, that they might no longer ſuck the blood of the poor, and act as the acceſſaries of theft and robbery, which was canvaſſed, debated, and made its way through the Lower

Houſe;

Houſe; but the Lords rejected it as a crude ſcheme, which they could not amend, becauſe it was a money bill, not cognizable by their houſe, without engaging in a diſpute with the Commons. Another bill was prepared, for giving power to change the puniſhment of felony, in certain caſes, to confinement and hard labour in dock-yards or garriſons. It was the opinion of many who wiſhed well to their country, and were properly qualified to proſecute ſuch enquiries, that the practice of conſigning ſuch a number of wretches to the hands of the executioner ſerved only, by its frequency, to defeat the purpoſe of the law, in robbing death of all its terror, and the publick of many ſubjects, who might, notwithſtanding their delinquency, be in ſome meaſure rendered uſeful to ſociety. Such was the motive that influenced the promoters of this bill; by which it was propoſed, in imitation of that œconomy practiſed in other countries, to confine felons convicted under certain circumſtances to hard labour upon the publick works of the kingdom. The ſcheme was adopted by the Lower Houſe, but rejected by the Lords, who ſeemed apprehenſive of its bringing ſuch diſcredit upon his Majeſty's dock-yards, as would diſcourage perſons who valued their reputation from engaging in ſuch employment. Of ſtill greater importance to the nation was the next meaſure propoſed, in a bill for making the militia of England more uſeful, preſented by Mr. Thornton, a gentleman of Yorkſhire, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his loyalty and patriotiſm. It was canvaſſed in a committee of the whole Houſe, and underwent divers amendments; but miſcarried, through the averſion of the miniſtry to any project tending to remove or leſſen the neceſſity of maintaining a ſtanding army. A conſiderable number of petitions for different regulations, in reſpect to commerce and convenience of traffick, were preſented, conſidered, and left upon the table. A remonſtrance from the priſoners confined in the gaol of the King's-Bench, complaining of their

BOOK III. 1752.

miserable situation, arising from want of room and other conveniences, being taken into consideration by a committee, among other evidences, they examined that remarkable personage who had signalized himself in different parts of Christendom, under the name of Theodore, King of Corsica. Though formerly countenanced, and even treated as a sovereign Prince by the British ministry, he was now reduced to the forlorn condition of a confined debtor; and to the reproach of this kingdom, died in prison, surrounded with all the misery of indigence, and overwhelmed with the infirmities of old age. But the most remarkable circumstance of the parliamentary transactions that distinguished this session, was a motion made in both Houses for an address to the King, beseeching his Majesty, That in time of publick tranquillity he would be graciously pleased to avoid entering into subsidiary treaties with foreign Princes, which are so burthensome to this nation. This extraordinary proposal was made and strenuously urged by the Duke of B—, and a vehement debate ensued, in which the Earls of G—, S—, and H—, opposed it with an execution of superior abilities; and the question being put, was carried in the negative, without a division. The same fate attended it in the House of Commons, where it was introduced by Lord H—y, and supported by some distinguished orators. The session ended in the latter end of March, when his Majesty, having given his assent to ninety-five publick and private bills, harangued both Houses, and prorogued the Parliament*.

* Among the proceedings of this session, it may not be improper to mention a new act for the prevention of murders, which had been shockingly frequent of late, importing, That every criminal convicted of this horrid crime should be executed in one day after his sentence, and his body delivered to the surgeons for dissection—an expedient which hath been found productive of very salutary consequences.

§ XII.

§ XII. Immediately after the prorogation the King appointed a Regency, and ſet out for Hanover, in order to complete the great ſcheme he had projected for electing a King of the Romans. Great-Britain, in the mean time, produced no event of importance, or any tranſaction that deſerves hiſtorical mention, except the ratification of two treaties of peace and commerce with the ſtates of Tripoli and Tunis on the coaſt of Barbary, concluded by the Britiſh Conſuls in thoſe cities, under the influence and auſpices of an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by Commodore Keppel, ſon to the Earl of Albemarle. The tide of luxury ſtill flowed with an impetuous current, bearing down all the mounds of temperance and decorum; while fraud and profligacy ſtruck out new channels, through which they eluded the reſtrictions of the law, and all the vigilance of civil policy. New arts of deception were invented, in order to enſnare and ruin the unwary; and ſome infamous practices in the way of commerce, were countenanced by perſons of rank and importance in the commonwealth. A certain member of Parliament was obliged to withdraw himſelf from his country, in conſequence of a diſcovery, by which it appeared that he had contrived and executed ſchemes for deſtroying his own ſhips at ſea, with a view to defraud the inſurers.

§ XIII. In the courſe of this year the affairs of the Continent did not undergo any material alteration. In France, the religious diſpute concerning the doctrine of Janſenius ſtill ſubſiſted between the Clergy and the Parliament; and ſeemed to acquire additional fuel from the violence of the Archbiſhop of Paris, a haughty, turbulent prelate, whoſe pride and bigotry were ſufficient to embroil one half of Chriſtendom. The northern powers enjoyed a perfect tranquillity: the States-General of the United Provinces were engroſſed by plans of national œconomy. Spain was intent upon extending her commerce,

BOOK III. 1752. merce, bringing her manufactures to perfection, and repressing the insolence of the Barbary corsairs. His Portugueze Majesty endeavoured, by certain peremptory precautions, to check the exportation of gold coin from his dominions; and insisted upon inspecting the books of the British merchants settled at Lisbon; but they refused to comply with this demand, which was contrary to a treaty subsisting between the two Crowns: and he thought proper to acquiesce in their refusal. He was much better employed, in obtaining from the Pope an abolition of the annual procession called the *Auto da fe*,* one of the most horrid triumphs of spiritual tyranny. The peace of Italy was secured by a defensive treaty concluded at Madrid between the Emperor, his Catholick Majesty, the King of the two Sicilies, and the Duke of Parma; to which treaty the King of Sardinia afterwards acceded.

§ XIV. With respect to the great scheme of electing the Archduke Joseph King of the Romans, fresh objections seemed to rise from different quarters. The good understanding between the Courts of Berlin and Hanover received an additional shock, from a dispute concerning the property of East Friezland, which his Prussian Majesty had secured, as heir to the last possessor. His Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, having pretensions to the same inheritance, his minister delivered a memorial to the diet of the Empire, assembled at Ratisbon, demanding that the King of Prussia, as Elector of Brandenburgh, should be referred to the decision of the Aulick council, in regard to his claim to the estates of East Friezland: but the King being already in possession, refused to submit his right to the determination of that or any other tribunal; and when the diet presumed to deliberate on this affair, his envoy entered a strong protest against their proceedings. At the same time, he presented the other ministers with a memorial, tending to refute

fute the Elector of Hanover's pretenſions to the principality in queſtion. CHAP. II.

§ XV. At this juncture his Pruſſian Majeſty made no ſcruple of expreſſing his reſentment againſt the Court of London, which he ſeemed to conſider as an officious cabal, that had no right to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany. His reſident at London complained to the Britiſh miniſtry, that divers ſhips, ſailing under the Pruſſian flag, had been ſtopped at ſea, and even ſeized by Engliſh cruiſers; and that his ſubjects had been ill-treated and oppreſſed: he, therefore, demanded reparation in a peremptory tone; and in the mean time, diſcontinued the payment of the Sileſia loan, which he had charged himſelf with, by an article in the treaty of Breſlau. This was a ſum of money amounting to two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which the Emperor Charles VI. father of the reigning Empreſs, had borrowed of the ſubjects of Great-Britain, on condition of paying an intereſt of ſix per cent. and mortgaging the ſilver mines of Sileſia for the repayment of the principal. Theſe devolved to the King of Pruſſia with this incumbrance, and he continued to pay the intereſt punctually till this juncture, when the payment was ſtopped; and he publiſhed a paper, intituled, "An Expoſition of the Motives which influenced his Conduct on this Occaſion." In his memorial to the miniſtry of Great-Britain he alledged, That eighteen Pruſſian ſhips, and thirty-three neutral veſſels, in which the ſubjects of Pruſſia were concerned, had been unjuſtly ſeized by Engliſh privateers: his account of damages amounted to a very conſiderable ſum; and he demanded, in the moſt dogmatick terms, that the affair ſhould be finally diſcuſſed in the term of three months from the date of his remonſtrance. The expoſition and memorial were ſubjected to the examination of the ableſt civilians in England, who refuted every article of the charge with equal preciſion and perſpicuity. 1752.

 They

BOOK III. 1752. They proved, that captures by sea fell properly under the cognizance of those powers under whose jurisdiction the seizures were made; and, therefore, his Prussian Majesty could not, consistent with the law of nations, determine these disputes in his own tribunals. They demonstrated, by undoubted evidence, the falsity of many facts alledged in the memorial, as well as the fairness of the proceedings by which some few of the Prussian vessels had been condemned; and made it appear, that no insult or injury had been offered to the subjects of Prussia. Finally, they observed, that the Silesia loan was a private transaction of such a nature, that, even if a war had happened between the Emperor Charles VI. and his Britannick Majesty, this must have been held sacred and inviolable: that when the Empress-Queen ceded Silesia to the King of Prussia, this Monarch charged himself with the repayment of the loan, which, being a private debt, and transferrable, was now diffused into different countries, and become the property of many others besides the subjects of Great-Britain. They wound up their chain of reasoning by observing, that, according to agreement with the Emperor, the whole of this loan should have been repayed in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five; whereas the complaints specified in the Prussian memorial were founded on facts posterior to that period. Whether his Prussian Majesty was convinced by these reasons, and desisted from principle, or thought proper to give up his claim upon other political considerations; certain it is, he no longer insisted upon satisfaction, but ordered the payment of the Silesia loan to be continued without further interruption: a report, indeed, was circulated, that advantage had been taken of the demur by a certain Prince, who employed his agents to buy up a great part of the loan at a considerable discount.

§ XVI. How much ſoever the King of Pruſſia may be the ſubject of cenſure on this occaſion, it muſt be allowed that, with regard to his own ſubjects, he acted as a wiſe legiſlator, and the father of his country. He peopled the deſerts of Pomerania; by encouraging, with royal bounties, a great number of induſtrious emigrants to ſettle in that province; the face of which, in a very few years, underwent the moſt agreeable alteration. Above ſixty new villages aroſe amidſt a barren waſte, and every part of the country exhibited marks of ſucceſsful cultivation. Thoſe ſolitary and deſolate plains, where no human footſteps had for many ages been ſeen, were now converted into fields of corn. The farms were regularly parcelled out: the houſes multiplied, and teemed with population: the happy peaſants, ſheltered in a peculiar manner under their King's protection, ſowed their grounds in peace, and reaped their harveſts in ſecurity. The ſame care and indulgence were extended to the unpeopled parts of other provinces within the Pruſſian dominions, and extraordinary encouragement was granted to all French proteſtants who ſhould come and ſettle under the government of this political ſage.

§ XVII. The Courts of Vienna and Hanover ſtill employed their chief attention upon the ſcheme of electing a King of the Romans; and the Elector of Mentz, influenced by the majority of the college, had convoked an electoral diet for that purpoſe: but ſtrong proteſts againſt this convocation were entered by the Electors of Cologn and Palatine, inſomuch that it was thought expedient to conciliate this laſt, by taking ſome ſteps in his favour, with reſpect to the ſatisfaction he demanded from the Empreſs-Queen and his Britannick Majeſty. His claim upon the Court of Vienna amounted to three millions of florins, by way of indemnification for the loſſes he had ſuſtained during the war. He demanded of the

BOOK III. 1752.

the King of England twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, for proviſion and forage furniſhed to the Britiſh troops while they acted on the Maine; and the like ſum for the like purpoſes from the States-General of the United Provinces. The Empreſs-Queen could not help remonſtrating againſt this demand as exorbitant in itſelf, and the more unreaſonable, as the Elector Palatine, at the death of her father, had openly declared againſt the Pragmatick Sanction, which he had guaranteed in the moſt ſolemn manner: ſhe, therefore, obſerved, that the damage he had ſuſtained, in conſequence of that declaration, ought to be conſidered as the common fate of war. Theſe reaſons, though concluſive and irrefragable in the uſual way of arguing, made no impreſſion upon the Palatine, who perfectly well underſtood his own importance, and was determined to ſeize this opportunity of turning it to the beſt advantage. The Court of Vienna, and the Maritime Powers, finding him thus obſtinately attached to his own intereſt, reſolved to bring him over to their views at any rate, and commenced a negociation with him, which produced a formal treaty. By this convention his demands in money were fixed at twelve hundred thouſand Dutch florins, to be paid at three inſtalments, five hundred thouſand by the Empreſs-Queen, and the remaining ſeven hundred thouſand by the King of Great-Britain and the States-General, according to the proportion eſtabliſhed in former treaties. The privilege of *Non appellendo*, for the duchy of Deux-ponts was confirmed to his electoral Highneſs, together with ſome other rights and pretenſions, in conſideration of his concurring with the other electors in the choice of a King of the Romans, to be elected according to the cuſtoms preſcribed by the laws and conſtitutions of the Empire. He likewiſe engaged to join them in ſettling the articles of the capitulation with the King of the Romans, Emperor *in futuro*. Yet, even after

CHAP. II. 1752.

after the concurrence of this Prince was ſecured, the purpoſed election proved abortive, from the ſtrong objections that were ſtarted, and the ſtrenuous oppoſition which was made by his Pruſſian Majeſty, who perhaps aſpired in ſecret at the Imperial dignity, which the Empreſs-Queen took all this pains to perpetuate in her own family.

§ XVIII. The King of Great-Britain, returning An. 1753. from the continent, opened the ſeſſion of Parliament on the eleventh day of January with a ſpeech, implying, That all his views and negociations had been calculated and directed to preſerve and ſecure the duration of the general peace, ſo agreeable and neceſſary to the welfare of all Europe: That he had the ſatisfaction to be aſſured of a good diſpoſition in all the powers that were his allies, to adhere to the ſame ſalutary object. He exhorted them to continue their attention to the reduction of the national debt, the augmentation of the ſinking-fund, and the improvement of the publick revenue. He recommended to their ſerious conſideration what further laws and regulations might be neceſſary for ſuppreſſing thoſe crimes and diſorders, of which the publick had ſo juſtly complained; and concluded with an aſſurance, that his hearty concurrence and endeavours ſhould never be wanting in any meaſure that might promote their welfare and proſperity. The addreſſes in anſwer to this ſpeech were couched in the uſual form of implicit approbation; but that of the Commons did not paſs without queſtion. The Earl of E— took exceptions to one paragraph, in which they acknowledged his Majeſty's wiſdom, as well as goodneſs, in purſuing ſuch meaſures as muſt contribute to maintain and render permanent the general tranquillity of Europe; and declared their ſatisfaction at the aſſurances his Majeſty had received from his allies, that they were all attached to the ſame ſalutary object. His lordſhip expatiated on the abſurdity of theſe compli-

BOOK III. 1753. ments at ſuch a juncture, when the peace of Europe was ſo precarious, and the Engliſh nation had ſo much cauſe of complaint and diſſatisfaction. He was ſeconded by ſome other individuals who declaimed with great vivacity againſt continental connexions; and endeavoured to expoſe the weakneſs and folly of the whole ſyſtem of foreign meaſures which our miniſtry had lately purſued. It muſt be owned, indeed, that they might have choſen a better opportunity to compliment their Sovereign on the permanency of the peace than at this juncture, when they muſt have ſeen themſelves on the very brink of a new rupture with the moſt formidable power in Europe. But the truth is, theſe addreſſes to the throne had been long conſidered as compliments of courſe, implying no more than a reſpectful attachment to their Sovereign: accordingly, both Houſes agreed to their reſpective addreſſes without diviſion. The two grand committees of ſupply and of ways and means, being eſtabliſhed, the buſineſs of the Houſe was tranſacted without much altercation; and the people had great reaſon to be ſatisfied with their moderate proceedings. Ten thouſand ſeamen, and the uſual number of land-forces, were retained for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They provided for the maintenance of the new colony in Nova-Scotia, the civil eſtabliſhment of Georgia, the ſupport of the caſtles on the coaſt of Guinea, and the erection of a new fort at Anamaboa, where the French had attempted to make a ſettlement; and they enabled his Majeſty to fulfil his engagements with the King of Poland and the Elector of Bavaria.

§ XIX. The ſupplies, including grants for former deficiencies and ſervices, for which no proviſion had been made in the courſe of the laſt year, did not exceed two millions one hundred thirty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and two-pence half-penny: in order to defray

defray which expence they aſſigned the duty on malt, &c. the land-tax at two ſhillings in the pound, the ſurplus of certain funds in the Exchequer, and the ſum of four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds out of the ſinking-fund; ſo that the exceedings amounted to near three hundred thouſand pounds*. As for the national debt, it now ſtood at the enormous ſum of ſeventy-four millions three hundred ſixty-eight thouſand four hundred and fifty-one pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and one penny; and the ſinking-fund produced one million ſeven hundred thirty-five thouſand five hundred and twenty-nine pounds, ſix ſhillings, and ten-pence farthing. CHAP. II. 1753.

§ XX. One of the firſt meaſures brought upon the carpet, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, was an act containing regulations for the better preſervation of the game, of which ſo great havock had been made by poachers, and other perſons unqualified to enjoy that diverſion, that the total extirpation of it was apprehended.

§ XXI. The next ſtep taken by the Commons was an affair of much greater conſequence to the community, being a bill for obliging ſhips the more effectually to perform quarantine, in order to prevent the plague from being imported from foreign countries into Great-Britain. For this purpoſe, it was ordained, that if this dreadful viſitation ſhould appear in any ſhip to the Northward of Cape Finiſterre, the Maſter or Commander ſhould immediately proceed to the harbour of New Grimſby, in one of the iſlands of Scilly, and there communicate the diſcovery to ſome officer of the Cuſtoms; who ſhould, with the firſt opportunity, tranſmit this intelligence to another Cuſtom-houſe officer in the neareſt port of England, to be by him forwarded to

* Several duties on ſalt, as well as on red and white herrings delivered out for home conſumption, were rendered perpetual, though ſubject to be redeemed by Parliament; and it was provided, that the debt contracted upon theſe duties being diſcharged, all the after produce of them ſhould become part of the ſinking-fund.

BOOK III. 1753. one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. In the mean time the ship should remain at the said island, and not an individual presume to go ashore, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known. It was also provided, that in case the Master of a ship thus infected should not be able to make the islands of Scilly, or be forced up either channel by violent winds, he should not enter any frequented harbour; but remain in some open road, until he could receive orders from his Majesty, or the privy council: that, during this interval, he should avoid all intercourse with the shore, or any person or vessel whatsoever, on pain of being deemed guilty of felony, and suffering death without benefit of clergy.

§ XXII. In order the more effectually to repress the barbarous practice of plundering ships which have the misfortune to suffer shipwreck; a practice which prevailed upon many different parts of the British coast, to the disgrace of the nation, and the scandal of human nature; a bill was prepared, containing clauses to inforce the laws against such savage delinquents, who prowl along the shore, like hungry wolves, in hope of preying upon their fellow-creatures; and certain provisions for the relief of the unhappy sufferers*. When the mutiny-bill fell under deliberation, the Earl of Egmont proposed a new clause for empowering and requiring regimental courts-martial to examine witnesses upon oath in all their trials. The proposal occasioned a debate, in which the ministry were pretty equally divided; but the clause was disapproved by the majority, and

* By the new law, the clerk of the peace in the county where the crime shall be committed is obliged, upon receiving proper information, to prosecute the offenders at the expence of the county. It was likewise proposed, that in case no prosecution of this nature should be commenced within a certain limited time after the information should have been legally given, in that case the county might be sued by the person who had sustained the damage, and obliged to indemnify him for his loss: but this clause was rejected by the majority; and the bill having made its way through both Houses, received the Royal assent.

this

this annual bill was enacted into a law without any alteration. CHAP. II.

§ XXIII. The next bill was framed in consequence of divers petitions presented by the exporters of corn, who complained that the bounties were not paid, and prayed that the House would make proper provision for that purpose. A bill was accordingly brought in, importing, That interest after the rate of three per cent. should be allowed upon every debenture for the bounty on the exportation of corn, payable by the Receiver-general or Cashier of the Customs, until the principal could be discharged out of such Customs or duties as are appropriated for the payment of this bounty. This premium on the exportation of corn ought not to be granted, except when the lowness of the market-price in Great-Britain proves that there is a superabundance in the kingdom; otherwise the exporter will find his account in depriving our own labourers of their bread, in order to supply our rivals at an easier rate: for example, suppose wheat in England should sell for twenty shillings a quarter, the merchant might export into France, and afford it to the people of that kingdom for eighteen shillings, because the bounty on exportation would, even at that rate, afford him a considerable advantage. 1753.

§ XXIV. A great number of merchants having presented petitions from different parts of the kingdom, representing that the trade of Turkey was greatly decreased, ascribing this diminution to the exclusive charter enjoyed by a monopoly, and praying that the trade might be laid open to all his Majesty's subjects, one of the members for Liverpool moved for leave to bring in a bill for this purpose. Such a measure had been twice before proposed without success; but now it was adopted without opposition. A bill was immediately introduced; and, notwithstanding all the interest and efforts of the Turkey Company, who petitioned the House

BOOK III. 1753. House against it, and were heard by their counsel, it passed through both Houses, and received the Royal sanction. By this regulation any British subject may obtain the freedom of the Turkey Company, by paying or rendering a fine of twenty pounds; and all the members are secured from the tyranny of oppressive by-laws, contrived by any monopolizing cabal*.

§ XXV. But this session was chiefly distinguished by an act for naturalizing Jews, and a bill for the better preventing clandestine marriages. The first of these which passed without much opposition in the House of Lords, from whence it descended to the Commons, was intituled, "An Act to permit "persons professing the Jewish Religion to be naturalized by Parliament, and for other purposes "therein mentioned." It was supported by some petitions of merchants and manufacturers, who, upon examination, appeared to be Jews, or their dependents; and countenanced by the ministry, who thought they foresaw, in the consequences of such a naturalization, a great accession to the monied interest, and a considerable increase of their own influence among the individuals of that community. They boldly affirmed, that such a law would greatly conduce to the advantage of the nation; that it would encourage persons of wealth to remove with their effects from foreign parts into Great-Britain, increase the commerce and the credit of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of industry, tem-

* Several other bills were passed—one for regulating the number of publick houses, and the more easy conviction of persons selling ale and strong liquors without licence; an act which empowered the Justices of Peace to tyranize over their fellow-subjects.—A second, enabling the magistrates of Edinburgh to improve, enlarge, and adorn the avenues and streets of that city, according to a concerted plan, to be executed by voluntary subscription—A third, allowing the exportation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland into any port in Great-Britain—and a fourth, prescribing the breadth of the wheels belonging to heavy carriages, that the high roads of the kingdom might be the better preserved.

perance, and frugality. Such, however, were not the ſentiments of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London in Common council aſſembled, who, in a petition to Parliament, expreſſed their apprehenſion that the bill, if paſſed into a law, would tend greatly to the diſhonour of the Chriſtian religion, endanger the excellent conſtitution, and be highly prejudicial to the intereſt and trade of the kingdom in general, and of the city of London in particular. Another petition to the ſame purpoſe was next day preſented to the Houſe, ſubſcribed by merchants and traders of the city of London; who, among other allegations, obſerved, that the conſequences of ſuch a naturalization would greatly affect their trade and commerce with foreign nations, particularly with Spain and Portugal. Counſel was heard, evidence examined, and the bill produced violent debates, in which there ſeemed to be more paſſion than patriotiſm, more declamation than argument. The adverſaries of the bill affirmed, that ſuch a naturalization would deluge the kingdom with brokers, uſurers, and beggars; that the rich Jews, under the ſhadow of this indulgence, would purchaſe lands, and even advowſons; ſo as not only to acquire an intereſt in the Legiſlature, but alſo to influence the conſtitution of the Church of Chriſt, to which they were the inveterate and profeſſed enemies: that the lower claſs of that nation, when thus admitted to the right of denizens, would interfere with the induſtrious natives who earn their livelihood by their labour; and by dint of the moſt parſimonious frugality, to which the Engliſh are ſtrangers, work at an under price; ſo as not only to ſhare, but even in a manner to exclude them from all employment: that ſuch an adoption of vagrant Jews into the community, from all parts of the world, would rob the real ſubjects of their birthright, diſgrace the character of the nation, expoſe themſelves to the moſt diſhonourable participation and

BOOK III. 1753. and intrusion, endanger the constitution both in church and state, and be an indelible reproach upon the established religion of the country. Some of these orators seemed transported even to a degree of enthusiasm. They prognosticated that the Jews would multiply so much in number, engross such wealth, and acquire so great power and influence in Great-Britain, that their persons would be revered, their customs imitated, and Judaism become the fashionable religion of the English. Finally, they affirmed that such an act was directly flying in the face of the prophecy, which declares, that the Jews shall be a scattered people, without country or fixed habitation, until they shall be converted from their infidelity, and gathered together in the land of their forefathers. These arguments and apprehensions, which were in reality frivolous and chimerical, being industriously circulated among the vulgar, naturally prejudiced against the Jewish people, excited such a ferment throughout the nation, as ought to have deterred the ministry from the prosecution of such an unpopular measure; which, however, they had courage enough to maintain against all opposition. The bill passed the ordeal of both Houses, and his Majesty vouchsafed the Royal sanction to this law in favour of the Hebrew nation. The truth is, it might have increased the wealth, and extended the commerce of Great-Britain, had it been agreeable to the people; and as the naturalized Jews would still have been excluded from all civil and military offices, as well as from other privileges enjoyed by their Christian brethren, in all probability they would have gradually forsaken their own unprofitable and obstinate infidelity, opened their eyes to the shining truths of the gospel, and joined their fellow-subjects in embracing the doctrines of Christianity. But no ministry ought to risk an experiment, how plausible soever it might be, if they find it, as this was, an object of the people's unconquerable aversion. What

rendered

rendered this unpopular meaſure the more impolitick, was the unſeaſonable juncture at which it was carried into execution; that is, at the eve of a general election for a new Parliament, when a miniſter ought carefully to avoid every ſtep which may give umbrage to the body of the people. The Earl of Eg—t, who argued againſt the bill with equal power and vivacity, in deſcribing the effect it might have upon that occaſion, "I am amazed (ſaid he) "that this conſideration makes no impreſſion.— "When that day, which is not far off, ſhall arrive, "I ſhall not fear to ſet my foot upon any ground "of election in the kingdom, in oppoſition to any "one man among you, or any new Chriſtian, who "has voted or appeared in favour of this naturali-"zation."

CHAP. II. 1753.

§ XXVI. Another bill, tranſmitted from the Upper Houſe, met with a reception equally unfavourable among the Commons, though it was ſuſtained on the ſhoulders of the majority, and thus forced its way to the throne, where it obtained the Royal approbation. The practice of ſolemniſing clandeſtine marriages, ſo prejudicial to the peace of families, and ſo often productive of miſery to the parties themſelves thus united, was an evil that prevailed to ſuch a degree as claimed the attention of the Legiſlature. The ſons and daughters of great and opulent families, before they had acquired knowledge and experience, or attained to the years of diſcretion, were every day ſeduced in their affections, and inveigled into matches big with infamy and ruin; and theſe were greatly facilitated by the opportunities that occurred of being united inſtantaneouſly by the ceremony of marriage, in the firſt tranſport of paſſion, before the deſtined victim had time to cool or deliberate on the ſubject. For this pernicious purpoſe, there was a band of profligate miſcreants, the refuſe of the clergy, dead to every ſentiment of virtue, abandoned to all ſenſe of decency and

BOOK III. 1753.

and decorum, for the moſt part priſoners for debt or delinquency, and indeed the very outcaſts of human ſociety, who hovered about the verge of the Fleet-priſon to intercept cuſtomers, plying like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage without licence or queſtion, in cellars, garrets, or alehouſes, to the ſcandal of religion, and the diſgrace of that order which they profeſſed. The eaſe with which this eccleſiaſtical ſanction was obtained, and the vicious diſpoſition of thoſe wretches, open to the practices of fraud and corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, proſtitution, and every curſe that could imbitter the married ſtate. A remarkable caſe of this nature having fallen under the cognizance of the Peers, in an appeal from an inferior tribunal, that Houſe ordered the Judges to prepare a new bill for preventing ſuch abuſes; and one was accordingly framed, under the auſpices of Lord Hardwicke, at that time Lord High Chancellor of England. In order to anticipate the bad effects of clandeſtine marriages, this new ſtatute enacted, That the banns ſhould be regularly publiſhed, three ſucceſſive Sundays, in the church of the pariſh where the parties dwell: That no licence ſhould be granted to marry in any place, where one of the parties has not dwelt at leaſt a month, except a ſpecial licence by the Archbiſhop: That if any marriage ſhould be ſolemniſed in any other place than a church or a chapel, without a ſpecial licence: or, in a publick chapel, without having publiſhed the banns, or obtained a licence of ſome perſon properly qualified, the marriage ſhould be void, and the perſon who ſolemniſed it tranſported for ſeven years: That marriages, by licence, of parties under age, without conſent of parent or guardian, ſhould be null and void, unleſs the party under age be a widow, and the parent refuſing conſent a widow married again: That when the conſent of a mother or guardian is refuſed from caprice, or ſuch parent or guardian be *non compos mentis*,

mentis, or beyond ſea, the minor ſhould have recourſe for relief to the Court of Chancery: That no ſuit ſhould be commenced to compel a celebration of marriage, upon pretence of any contract: That all marriages ſhould be ſolemniſed before two witneſſes, and an entry be made in a book kept for that purpoſe, whether it was by banns or licence, whether either of the parties was under age, or the marriage celebrated with the conſent of parent or guardian; and this entry to be ſigned by the miniſter, the parties, and the witneſſes: That a falſe licence or certificate, or deſtroying regiſter books, ſhould be deemed felony, either in principal or acceſſary, and puniſhed with death. The bill, when firſt conſidered in the Lower Houſe, gave riſe to a variety of debates; in which the members appeared to be divided rather according to their real ſentiments, than by the rules of any political diſtinction, for ſome principal ſervants of the government freely differed in opinion from the miniſter, who countenanced the bill; while, on the other hand, he was, on this occaſion, ſupported by certain chiefs of the oppoſition, and the diſputes were maintained with extraordinary eagerneſs and warmth. The principal objections imported, that ſuch reſtrictions on marriage would damp the ſpirit of love and propagation; promote mercenary matches, to the ruin of domeſtick happineſs, as well as to the prejudice of poſterity and population; impede the circulation of property, by preſerving the wealth of the kingdom among a kind of ariſtocracy of opulent families, who would always intermarry within their own pale; ſubject the poor to many inconveniences, and extraordinary expence, from the nature of the forms to be obſerved; and throw an additional power into the hands of the Chancellor. They affirmed, that no human power had a right to diſſolve a vow ſolemnly made in the ſight of heaven: and that, in proportion as the bill prevented clandeſtine marriages, it would encourage forni-

CHAP. II.
1753.

[library stamp]

BOOK III. 1753. fornication and debauchery, insomuch as the parties restrained from indulging their mutual passions in an honourable manner, would be tempted to gratify them by stealth, at the hazard of their reputation. In a word, they foresaw a great number of evils in the train of this bill, which have not yet been realized. On the other side, its advocates endeavoured to refute these arguments, and some of them spoke with great strength and precision. The bill underwent a great number of alterations and amendments; which were not effected without violent contest and altercation. At length, however, it was floated through both Houses on the tide of a great majority, and steered into the safe harbour of Royal approbation. Certain it is, the abuse of clandestine marriage might have been removed upon much easier terms than those imposed upon the subject by this bill, which, after all, hath been found ineffectual, as it may be easily eluded by a short voyage to the continent, or a moderate journey to North-Britain, where the indissoluble knot may be tied without scruple or interruption.

§ XXVII. Over and above these new statutes there were some other subjects which occasionally employed the attention of the Commons; such as the state of the British sugar-colonies, which was considered, in consequence of petitions presented by the sugar-refiners and grocers of London, Westminster, and Bristol, complaining of the exorbitant price demanded and given for sugars imported from Jamaica; desiring that the proprietors of land in Jamaica might be obliged to cultivate greater quantities of ground for raising sugar-canes, or that they (the petitioners) might have leave to import muscovado sugars from other countries, when the price of those imported from Jamaica should exceed a certain rate. This remonstrance was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House; and a great number of evidences and papers being examined,

mined, they resolved, That the peopling of Jamaica with white inhabitants, and cultivating the lands thereof, would be the most proper measure for securing that island, and increasing the trade and navigation between it and great-Britain, and other parts of his Majesty's dominions: That the endeavours hitherto used by the legislature of Jamaica to increase the number of white inhabitants, and enforce the cultivation of lands, in the manner that might best conduce to the security and defence of that island, had not been effectual for these purposes. The House ordered a bill to be founded on these resolutions; but this was postponed, until the ministry should receive more full information touching the true state of that island. The planters of Jamaica laboured under many grievances and hardships, from divers heavy impositions and restrictions; and a detail of these was transmitted in a representation to his Majesty, which was referred to the consideration of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. The cause of the planters was defended vigorously, and managed in the House of Commons by Alderman Beckford, a gentleman of vast possessions in the island of Jamaica, who perfectly well understood, and strenuously supported, the interest of that his native country.

§ XXVIII. Abortive also proved the attempt to establish a law for keeping an annual register of marriages, births, deaths, the individuals who received alms, and the total number of people in Great-Britain. A bill for this purpose was presented by Mr. Potter, a gentleman of pregnant parts and spirited elocution; who, enumerating the advantages of such a law, observed, that it would ascertain the number of the people, and the collective strength of the nation; consequently, point out those places where there is a defect or excess of population, and certainly determine whether a general naturalization would be advantageous or prejudicial to the community;

BOOK III. 1753. munity; that it would decide what number of men might, on any ſudden emergency, be levied for the defence of the kingdom; and whether the nation is gainer or loſer, by ſending its natives to ſettle, and our troops to defend diſtant colonies; that it would be the means of eſtabliſhing a local adminiſtration of civil government, or a police upon certain fixed principles, the want of which hath been long a reproach to the nation, a ſecurity to vice, and an encouragement to idleneſs; that in many caſes where all other evidence is wanting, it would enable ſuitors to recover their right in courts of juſtice, facilitate an equal and equitable aſſeſſment in raiſing the preſent taxes, and laying future impoſitions; ſpecify the lineal deſcents, relations, and alliances of families; lighten the intolerable burthens incurred by the publick, from innumerable and abſurd regulations relating to the poor; provide for them by a more equal exertion of humanity, and effectually ſcreen them from all riſque of periſhing by hunger, cold, cruelty, and oppreſſion. Whether ſuch a law would have anſwered the ſanguine expectations of its patron, we ſhall not pretend to determine; though, in our opinion, it muſt have been attended with very ſalutary conſequences, particularly in reſtraining the hand of robbery and violence, in detecting fraud, bridling the ferocity of a licentious people, and eſtabliſhing a happy ſyſtem of order and ſubordination. At firſt the bill met with little oppoſition, except from Mr. Thornton, member for the city of York, who inveighed againſt it with great fervour, as a meaſure that ſavoured of French policy, to which the Engliſh nation ever had the utmoſt averſion. He affirmed, that the method in which it was propoſed this regiſter ſhould be kept would furniſh the enemies of Great-Britain with continual opportunities of knowing the ſtrength or weakneſs of the nation; that it would empower an ill-deſigning miniſter to execute any ſcheme ſubverſive of publick liberty,

liberty, invest parish and petty officers of the peace with exorbitant powers, and cost the nation about fifty thousand pounds a-year to carry the scheme into execution. These arguments, which we apprehend, are extremely frivolous and inconclusive, had great weight with a considerable number, who joined in the opposition, while the ministry stood neutral. Nevertheless, after having undergone some amendments, it was conveyed to the Lords, by whom it was, at the second reading, thrown out, as a scheme of very dangerous tendency. The legislature of Great-Britain, have, on some occasions, been more startled at the distant shadow of a bare possibility, than at the real approach of the most dangerous innovation.

§ XXIX. From the usual deliberations on civil and commercial concerns, the attention of the Parliament, which had seldom or never turned upon literary avocations, was called off by an extraordinary subject of this nature. Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated physician and naturalist, well known through all the civilized countries of Europe for his ample collection of rarities, culled from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as of antiquities and curiosities of art, had directed, in his last will, that this valuable museum, together with his numerous library, should be offered to the Parliament, for the use of the publick, in consideration of their paying a certain sum, in compensation, to his heirs. His terms were embraced by the Commons, who agreed to pay twenty thousand pounds for the whole, supposed to be worth four times that sum; and a bill was prepared for purchasing this museum, together with the Harleian collection of manuscripts, so denominated from its founder, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer of England, and now offered to the publick by his daughter, the Duchess of Portland. It was proposed, that these purchases should be joined to the famous

famous Cottonian library, and a ſuitable repoſitory provided for them and the King's library, which had long lain neglected and expoſed to the injuries of the weather in the old dormitory at Weſtminſter. Accordingly, truſtees and governors, conſiſting of the moſt eminent perſons of the kingdom, were appointed, and regulations eſtabliſhed for the management of this noble muſeum, which was depoſited in Montagu-Houſe, one of the moſt magnificent edifices in England, where it is ſubjected, without reſerve, to the view of the publick, under certain neceſſary reſtrictions, and exhibits a glorious monument of national taſte and liberality*. In the beginning of June the ſeſſion of Parliament was cloſed by his Majeſty, who mentioned nothing particular in his ſpeech, but that the ſtate of foreign affairs had ſuffered no alteration ſince their meeting.

§ XXX. The genious of the Engliſh people is perhaps incompatible with a ſtate of perfect tranquillity: if it is not ruffled by foreign provocations, or agitated by unpopular meaſures of domeſtick adminiſtration, it will undergo temporary fermentations from the turbulent ingredients inherent in its own conſtitution. Tumults are excited, and faction kindled into rage and inveteracy, by incidents of the moſt frivolous nature. At this juncture the metropolis of England was divided and diſcompoſed

* The library of Sir Hans Sloane conſiſted of above fifty thouſand volumes, including about three hundred and fifty books of drawings, and three thouſand five hundred and ſixteen manuſcripts, beſides a multitude of prints. The muſeum comprehended an infinite number of medals, coins, urns, utenſils, ſeals, cameos, intaglios, precious ſtones, veſſels of agate and jaſper, chryſtals, ſpars, foſſils, metals, minerals, oars, earths, ſands, ſalts, bitumens, ſulphurs, amber, ambergriſe, talcs miræ, teſtecea, corals, ſponges, echini, echenites, aſteriæ, trochi, cruſtatia, ſtellæ marinæ, fiſhes, birds, eggs, and neſts, vipers, ſerpents, quadrupeds, inſects, human calcula anatomical, preparations, ſeeds, gums, roots, dried plants, pictures, drawings, and mathematical inſtruments. All theſe articles, with a ſhort account of each, are ſpecified in thirty-eight volumes in folio, and eight in quarto.

in a ſurpriſing manner, by a diſpute in itſelf of ſo little conſequence to the community, that it could not deſerve a place in a general hiſtory, if it did not ſerve to convey a characteriſtick idea of the Engliſh nation. In the beginning of the year an obſcure damſel, of low degree, whoſe name was Elizabeth Canning, promulgated a report, which in a little time attracted the attention of the publick. She affirmed, that on the firſt day of the new year, at night, ſhe was ſeized under Bedlam-wall by two ruffians, who having ſtripped her of her upper apparel, ſecured her mouth with a gag, and threatened to murder her ſhould ſhe make the leaſt noiſe; that they conveyed her on foot about ten miles, to a place called Enfield-waſh, and brought her to the houſe of one Mrs. Wells, where ſhe was pillaged of her ſtays; and, becauſe ſhe refuſed to turn proſtitute, confined in a cold, damp, ſeparate, and unfurniſhed apartment; where ſhe remained a whole month, without any other ſuſtenance than a few ſtale cruſts of bread, and about a gallon of water; till at length ſhe forced her way through a window, and ran home to her mother's houſe, almoſt naked, in the night of the twenty-ninth of January. This ſtory, improbable and unſupported, operated ſo ſtrongly on the paſſions of the people in the neighbourhood of Aldermanbury, where Canning's mother lived, and particularly among fanaticks of all denominations, that they raiſed voluntary contributions, with ſurpriſing eagerneſs, in order to bring the ſuppoſed delinquents to juſtice. Warrants were granted for apprehending Wells, who kept the houſe at Enfield-waſh, and her accomplices, the ſervant-maid, whoſe name was Virtue Hall, and one Squires, an old gipſey-woman, which laſt was charged by Canning, of having robbed her of her ſtays. Wells, though acquitted of the felony, was puniſhed as a bawd. Hall turned evidence for Canning, but afterwards recanted. Squires, the gipſey, was convicted of

CHAP. II.

1753.

BOOK III. 1753.

of the robbery, though ſhe produced undoubted evidence to prove that ſhe was at Abbotſbury in Dorſetſhire that very night in which the felony was ſaid to be committed, and Canning and her friends fell into divers contradictions during the courſe of the trial. By this time the prepoſſeſſion of the common people in her favour had riſen to ſuch a pitch of enthuſiaſm, that the moſt palpable truths which appeared on the other ſide, had no other effect than that of exaſperating them to the moſt dangerous degree of rage and revenge. Some of the witneſſes for Squires, though perſons of unblemiſhed character, were ſo intimidated, that they durſt not enter the court; and thoſe who had reſolution enough to give evidence in her behalf, ran the riſque of aſſaſſination from the vulgar that ſurrounded the place. On this occaſion, Sir Criſp Gaſcoyne, Lord-Mayor of London, behaved with that laudable courage and humanity which ought ever to diſtinguiſh the chief magiſtrate of ſuch a metropolis. Conſidering the improbability of the charge, the heat, partiality, and blind enthuſiaſm with which it was proſecuted, and being convinced of the old woman's innocence by a great number of affidavits, voluntarily ſent up from the country by perſons of unqueſtionable credit, he, in conjunction with ſome other worthy citizens, reſolved to oppoſe the torrent of vulgar prejudice. Application was made to the throne for mercy: the caſe was referred to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, who, having examined the evidences on both ſides, made their report in favour of Squires to the King and Council; and this poor old creature was indulged with his Majeſty's pardon. This affair was now ſwelled up into ſuch a faction as divided the greater part of the kingdom, including the rich as well as the poor, the high as well as the humble. Pamphlets and paſquinades were publiſhed on both ſides of the diſpute, which became the general topick of converſation in all aſſemblies,

and

and people of all ranks espoused one or other party with as much warmth and animosity as had ever inflamed the Whigs and Tories, even at the most rancorous period of their opposition. Subscriptions were opened, and large sums levied, on one side, to prosecute for perjury the persons on whose evidence the pardon had been granted. On the other hand, those who had interested themselves for the gipsey resolved to support her witnesses, and, if possible, detect the imposture of Canning. Bills of perjury were preferred on both sides. The evidences for Squires were tried and acquitted; at first Canning absconded; but afterwards surrendered to take her trial, and being, after a long hearing, found guilty, was transported to the British colonies. The zeal of her friends, however, seemed to be inflamed by her conviction; and those who carried on the prosecution against her were insulted, even to the danger of their lives. They supplied her with necessaries of all sorts, paid for her transportation in a private ship, where she enjoyed all the comforts and conveniences that could be afforded in that situation, and furnished her with such recommendations as secured to her a very agreeable reception in New-England.

§ XXXI. Next to this very remarkable transaction, the incident that principally distinguished this year in England, was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of North-Britain, and brother to Cameron of Lochiel, chief of that numerous and warlike tribe, who had taken the field with the Prince-Pretender. After the battle of Culloden, where he was dangerously wounded, he found means to escape to the Continent. His brother, the Doctor, had accompanied him in all his expeditions, though not in a military capacity, and was included with him in the act of attainder passed against those who had been concerned in the rebellion. Notwithstanding the imminent danger attending such an

 attempt,

BOOK III. 1753. attempt, the Doctor returned privately to Scotland, in order (as it was reported) to recover a ſum of money belonging to the Pretender, which had been embezzled by his adherents in that country. Whatever may have been his inducement to re-viſit his native country under ſuch a predicament, certain it is, he was diſcovered, apprehended, conducted to London, confined in the Tower, examined by the privy-council, and produced in the Court of King's-Bench, where his identity being proved by ſeveral witneſſes, he received ſentence of death, and was executed at Tyburn. The terror and reſentment of the people, occaſioned by the rebellion, having by this time ſubſided, their humane paſſions did not fail to operate in favour of this unfortunate gentleman: their pity was mingled with eſteem, ariſing from his perſonal character, which was altogether unblemiſhed, and his deportment on this occaſion, which they could not help admiring, as the ſtandard of manly fortitude and decorum. The populace, though not very ſubject to tender emotions, were moved to compaſſion and even to tears, by his behaviour at the place of execution; and many ſincere well-wiſhers to the preſent eſtabliſhment thought that the ſacrifice of this victim, at ſuch a juncture, could not redound either to its honour or ſecurity.

§ XXXII. The turbulent ſpirit, which is never totally extinguiſhed in this iſland, manifeſted itſelf in ſundry tumults that broke out in different parts of South-Britain. The price of proviſion, and bread in particular, being raiſed to an exorbitant rate, in conſequence of an abſurd exportation of corn, for the ſake of the bounty, a formidable body of colliers, and other labouring people, raiſed an inſurrection at Briſtol, began to plunder the corn-veſſels in the harbour, and commit ſuch outrages in the city, that the magiſtrates were obliged to have recourſe to the military power. A troop of dra-

goons

goons were ſent to their aſſiſtance, and the inſurgents were quelled, though not without ſome bloodſhed. Commotions of the ſame kind were excited in Yorkſhire, Mancheſter, and ſeveral other places in the northern counties. At Leeds, a detachment of the King's troops were obliged in their own defence to fire upon the rioters, eight or nine of whom were killed on the ſpot; and, indeed, ſo little care had been taken to reſtrain the licentious inſolence of the vulgar by proper laws and regulations, duly executed under the eye of civil magiſtracy, that a military power was found abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the peace of the kingdom.

§ XXXIII. The tranquillity of the Continent was not endangered by any new conteſt or diſturbance: yet the breach between the Clergy and the Parliament of Paris was every day more and more widened, and the people were pretty equally divided between ſuperſtition and a regard for civil liberty. The Parliament having cauſed divers eccleſiaſticks to be apprehended, for having refuſed to adminiſter the ſacraments to perſons in extremity, who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the bull Unigenitus, all of them declared they acted according to the direction of the Archbiſhop of Paris. Application being made to this haughty prelate, he treated the deputies of the Parliament with the moſt ſupercilious contempt, and even ſeemed to brave the power and authority of that body. They, on the other hand, proceeded to take cognizance of the recuſant clergy, until their Sovereign ordered them to deſiſt. Then they preſented remonſtrances to his Majeſty, reminding him of their privileges, and the duty of their ſtation, which obliged them to do juſtice on all delinquents. In the mean time, they continued to perform their functions, and even commenced a proſecution againſt the Biſhop of Orleans, whom they ſummoned to attend their tribunal. Next day they received from Verſailles a *lettre de cachet*, accompanied by letters patent,

BOOK III. 1753. patent, commanding them to ſuſpend all proſecutions relating to the refuſal of the ſacraments; and ordering the letters patent to be regiſtered. Inſtead of obeying theſe commands, they preſented new remonſtrances, for anſwers to which they were referred to the King's former declarations. In conſequence of this intimation, they had ſpirit enough to reſolve, "That, whereas certain evil-minded perſons had "prevented truth from reaching the throne, the "chambers remained aſſembled, and all other buſi-"neſs ſhould be ſuſpended." The affair was now become very ſerious. His Majeſty, by freſh letters patent, renewed his orders, and commanded them to proceed with their ordinary buſineſs, on pain of incurring his diſpleaſure. They forthwith came to another reſolution, importing, that they could not obey this injunction without a breach of their duty and their oath. Next day *lettres de cachet* were iſſued, baniſhing to different parts of the kingdom all the members, except thoſe of the great chamber, which the court did not find more tractable than their brethren. They forthwith reſolved to abide by the two reſolutions mentioned above; and, as an inſtance of their unſhaken fortitude, ordered an eccleſiaſtick to be taken into cuſtody for refuſing the ſacraments. This ſpirited meaſure involved them in the fate of the reſt; for they were alſo exiled from Paris, the citizens of which did not fail to extol their conduct with the loudeſt encomiums, and at the ſame time to expreſs their reſentment againſt the clergy, who could not ſtir abroad without being expoſed to violence or inſult. The example of the Parliament of Paris was followed by that of Rouen, which had courage enough to iſſue orders for apprehending the Biſhop of Evreux, becauſe he had refuſed to appear when ſummoned to their tribunal. Their decrees on this occaſion being annulled by the King's council of ſtate, they preſented a bold remonſtrance, which, however, had no other effect than

that of exasperating the Ministry. A grand deputation being ordered to attend the King, they were commanded to desist from intermeddling in disputes relating to the refusal of the sacraments, and to register this injunction. At their return they had recourse to a new remonstrance; and one of their principal counsellors, who had spoken freely in the debates on this subject, was arrested by a party of dragoons, who carried him prisoner to the castle of Dourlens. In a word, the body of the people declared for the Parliament, in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny; and, had they not been over-awed by a formidable standing army, would certainly have taken up arms in defence of their liberties; while the Monarch weakly suffered himself to be governed by priestly delusions; and, secure in his military appointment, seemed to set the rest of his subjects at defiance. Apprehensive, however, that these disputes would put an entire stop to the administration of justice, he, by letters patent, established a royal chamber for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal, which was opened with a solemn mass performed in the Queen's chapel at the Louvre, where all the members assisted. On this occasion another difficulty occurred. The letters patent, constituting this new court, ought to have been registered by the Parliament, which was now no more. To remedy this defect, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet; which refusing to register them, one of its members was committed to the Bastile, and another absconded. Intimidated by this exertion of despotick power, they allowed the King's officers to enter the letters in their register; but afterwards adopted more vigorous resolutions. The Lieutenant civil appearing in their court, all the counsellors rose up and retired, leaving him alone, and on the table an arret, importing, That whereas the confinement of one of their members, the prosecution of another, who durst not appear, and the present calamities of the nation, gave them

CHAP. II.

1753.

BOOK III. 1753. just apprehension for their own persons, they had, after mature deliberation, thought proper to retire. Thus a dangerous ferment was excited by the King's espousing the cause of spiritual insolence and oppression against the general voice of his people, and the plainest dictates of reason and common sense.

§ XXXIV. The property of East Friezland continued still to be the source of contention between the Electors of Brandenburgh and Hanover. The interests of his Britannick Majesty being powerfully supported by the House of Austria, the minister of that power at the diet proposed that the affair should be taken into immediate consideration. He was seconded by the Minister of Brunswick; but the envoy from Brandenburgh, having protested in form against this procedure, withdrew from the assembly, and the Brunswick Minister made a counter protestation, after which he also retired. Then a motion being made, that this dispute should be referred to the decision of the Aulick council at Vienna, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of fourteen voices. His Prussian Majesty's final declaration with regard to this affair was afterwards presented to the diet, and answered in the sequel by a memorial from his Britannick Majesty as Elector of Hanover. Some other petty disputes likewise happened between the regency of Hanover and the city of Munster; and the former claiming some bailiwicks in the territories of Bremen, sequestered certain revenues belonging to this city, in Stade and Ferden, till these claims should be satisfied.

§ XXXV. The Court of Vienna having dropped for the present the scheme for electing a King of the Romans, concluded a very extraordinary treaty with the Duke of Modena, stipulating, that his serene Highness should be appointed perpetual Governor of the duchy of Milan, with a salary of ninety thousand florins, on condition that he should maintain a body of four thousand men, to be at the disposal of the Empress-Queen; that her Imperial Majesty should

ſhould have a right to place garriſons in the citadels of Mirandola and Reggio, as well as in the caſtle of Maſſa-Carrara: that the Archduke Peter Leopold, third ſon of their Imperial Majeſties, ſhould eſpouſe the daughter of the Hereditary Prince of Modena, by the heireſs of Maſſa-Carrara; and in caſe of her dying without heirs male, the eſtates of that houſe and the duchy of Mirandola ſhould devolve to the Archduke; but in caſe of her having male iſſue, that ſhe ſhould enjoy the principality of Fermia, and other poſſeſſions in Hungary, claimed by the Duke of Modena, for her fortune: finally, that on the extinction of the male branch of the houſe of Eſte, all the dominions of the Duke of Modena ſhould devolve to the houſe of Auſtria.

§ XXXVI. While the powers on the continent of Europe were thus employed in ſtrengthening their reſpective intereſts, and concerting meaſures for preventing any interruption of the general tranquillity, matters were faſt ripening to a freſh rupture between the ſubjects of Great-Britain and France, in different parts of North-America. We have already obſerved that commiſſaries had been appointed, and conferences opened at Paris, to determine the diſputes between the two crowns, relating to the boundaries of Nova-Scotia; and we took notice in general of the little arts of evaſion practiſed by the French commiſſaries, to darken and perplex the diſpute, and elude the pretenſions of his Britannick Majeſty. They perſiſted in employing theſe arts of chicanery and cavil with ſuch perſeverance, that the negociation proved abortive, the conferences broke up, and every thing ſeemed to portend approaching hoſtilities. But, before we proceed to a detail of the incidents which were the immediate forerunners of the war, we will endeavour to convey a juſt idea of the diſpute concerning Nova-Scotia; which, we apprehend, is but imperfectly underſtood, though of the utmoſt importance to the intereſt of Great-Britain.

BOOK III. 1753.

§ XXXVII. Nova-Scotia, called by the French Acadia, lies between the forty-four and fiftieth degrees of north latitude, having New England and the Atlantick ocean to the south and south-west, and the river and Gulph of St. Lawrence to the north and north-east. The winter, which continues near seven months in this country, is intensely cold; and without the intervention of any thing that can be called spring, it is immediately succeeded by a summer, the heat of which is almost insupportable, but of no long continuance. The soil in general is thin and barren, though some parts of it are said to be equal to the best land in England. The whole country is covered with a perpetual fog, even after the summer has commenced. It was first possessed by the French, before they made any establishment in Canada; who, by dint of industry and indefatigable perseverance, in struggling with the many difficulties they necessarily laboured under in the infancy of this settlement, subsisted tolerably well, and increased considerably, with very little assistance from Europe: whilst we, even now, should lose the immense expence we have already been at to settle a colony there, and should see all our endeavours to that end defeated, if the support of the royal hand was withdrawn but for a moment. This country, by the possession of which an enemy would be enabled greatly to annoy all our other colonies, and, if in the hands of the French, would be of singular service both to their fishery and their sugar islands, has frequently changed hands from the French to the English, and from the English back again to the French, till our right to it it was finally settled by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, by which all the country included within the ancient limits of what was called Nova-Scotia or Acadia, was ceded to the English. This article was confirmed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: but, for want of ascertaining distinctly what were the bounds intended to be

be fixed by the two nations with respect to this province, disputes arose, and commissaries, as we have observed, were appointed by both sides, to adjust the litigation.

§ XXXVIII. The commissaries of the King of Great-Britain conformed themselves to the rule laid down by the treaty itself, and assigned those as the ancient limits of this country which had always passed as such, from the very earliest time of any certainty, down to the conclusion of the treaty; which the two crowns had frequently declared to be such, and which the French had often admitted and allowed. These limits are, the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence to the north, and Pentagoet to the west: the country situated between these boundaries is that which the French received by the treaty of St. Germain's, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, under the general name of Acadia. Of this country, thus limited, they continued in possession from that period to the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four, when a descent was made upon it, under the command of Colonel Sedgwick. That these were then the undisputed limits of Acadia, his Britannick Majesty's commissaries plainly proved, by a letter of Louis XIII. to the Sieurs Charnisay and La Tour, regulating their jurisdictions in Acadia; by the subsequent commissions of the French King to the same persons, as Governors of Acadia, in the sequel; and by that which was afterwards granted to the Sieur Denys, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four; all of which extend the bounds of this country from the river St. Lawrence to Pentagoet and New-England. That these were the notions of the French with respect to the ancient limits of this province was further confirmed by the demand made by their Ambassador, in the course of that same year, for the restitution of the forts Pentagoet, St. John's and Port-Royal, as forts situated in Acadia. In the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-two, upon

BOOK III. 1753. upon the revival of the claim of France to the country of Acadia, which had been left undecided by the treaty of Weſtminſter, the French Ambaſſador, then at the Court of London, aſſigned Pantagoet as the weſtern, and the river St. Lawrence as the northern boundary of that country; and alledged the reſtitution of Acadia in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two, and the poſſeſſion taken by France in conſequence thereof, as well as the continuation of that poſſeſſion, with the ſame limits, to the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-four, as proofs of the equity and validity of the claim he then made: in which claim, and in the manner of ſupporting it, he was particularly approved of by the Court of France. The ſame Court afterwards thought it ſo clear, upon former determinations, and her own former poſſeſſions, that the true ancient boundaries of Acadia were Pentagoet to the weſt, and the river St. Lawrence to the north, that ſhe deſired no ſpecification of limits in the treaty of Breda, but was contented with the reſtitution of Acadia, generally named: and, upon a diſpute which aroſe in the execution of this treaty, France re-aſſerted, and Great-Britain, after ſome diſcuſſion, agreed to the above-mentioned limits of Acadia; and France obtained poſſeſſion of that country, ſo bounded, under the treaty of Breda. The ſenſe of France upon this ſubject, in the years one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-five, and one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven, was alſo clearly manifeſted, in the memorials delivered at that time by the French Ambaſſador at the Court of London, complaining of ſome encroachments made by the Engliſh upon the coaſt of Acadia: he deſcribed the country as extending from iſle Percée, which lies at the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, to St. George's iſland: and again, in a ſubſequent complaint, made by Monſ. Barillon and Monſ. de Bonrepaus to the Court of Great-Britain, againſt the judge of Pemaquid, for having ſeized the effects

of

of a French merchant at Pentagoet, which, said they, was situated in Acadia, as restored to France by the treaty of Breda. To explain the sense of France, touching the bounds of Acadia in the year one thousand seven hundred, the British commissaries produced a proposal of the French Ambassador, then residing in Great-Britain, to restrain the limits of that country to the river St. George. They also instanced the surrender of Port-Royal in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, in which Acadia is described with the same limits with which France had received it in the years one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, and one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. And further to ascertain the sense of both crowns, even at the treaty of Utrecht itself, they produced the Queen of Great-Britain's instructions to her Ambassadors in the year one thousand seven hundred and eleven, in which they were directed to insist, "That his Most Christian Majesty should quit all claim or title, by virtue of any former treaty, or otherwise, to the country called Nova-Scotia, and expresly to Port-Royal, otherwise Annapolis-Royal." To these they added a manifest demonstration, founded on indisputable facts, proving that the recital of the several sorts of right which France had ever pretended to this country, and the specification of both terms, Acadia or Nova-Scotia, were intended by Great-Britain to obviate all doubts which had ever been made concerning the limits of Acadia, and to comprehend with more certainty all that country which France had ever received as such: finally, to specify what France considered as Acadia. During the treaty, they referred to the offers of that crown in the year one thousand seven hundred and twelve, in which she proposed to restrain the boundary of Acadia to the river St. George, as a departure from its real boundary, in case Great-Britain would restore to her the possession of that country. From all these facts it

CHAP. II. 1753.

BOOK III. 1753.

it plainly appears that Great-Britain demanded nothing but what the fair construction of the words of the treaty of Utrecht necessarily implies; and that it is impossible for any thing to have more evident marks of candour and fairness in it, than the demand of the English on this occasion. From the variety of evidence brought in support of this claim, it evidently results, that the English Commissaries assigned no limits as the ancient limits of Acadia, but those which France herself determined to be such in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two; and which she possessed, in consequence of that determination, till the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-four; that in one thousand six hundred and sixty-two France claimed, and received in one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine, the country which Great-Britain now claims as Acadia, restored to France by the treaty of Breda under that general denomination: That France never considered Acadia, as having any other limits than those which were assigned to it from the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-two, to the year one thousand seven hundred and ten; and that, by the treaty of Utrecht, she engaged to transfer that very same country as Acadia, which France has always asserted and possessed, and Great-Britain now claims, as such. Should the Crown of France, therefore, be ever willing to decide what are the ancient limits of Acadia, by her own declarations so frequently made in like discussions upon the same point, by her possessions of this country for almost a century, and by her description of Acadia, during the negociation of that very treaty upon which this doubt is raised, she cannot but admit the claim of Great-Britain to be conformable to the treaty of Utrecht, and to the description of the country transferred to Great-Britain by the twelfth article of that treaty. There is a consistency in the claim of the English, and a completeness in the evidence brought in support of it,

it, which is ſeldom ſeen in diſcuſſions of this ſort; for it rarely happens, in diſputes of ſuch a nature between two crowns, that either of them can ſafely offer to have its pretenſions decided by the known and repeated declarations, or the poſſeſſions of the other. To anſwer the force of this detail of concluſive hiſtorical facts, and to give a new turn to the real queſtion in diſpute, the French commiſſaries, in their memorial, laid it down as a diſtinction made by the treaty of Utrecht, that the ancient limits of Acadia, referred to by that treaty, are different from any with which that country may have paſſed under the treaties of St. Germain's and Breda; and then endeavoured to ſhew, upon the teſtimonies of maps and hiſtorians, that Acadia and its limits were anciently confined to the ſouth-eaſtern part of the peninſula. In ſupport of this ſyſtem, the French commiſſaries had recourſe to ancient maps and hiſtorians, who, as they aſſerted, had ever confined Acadia to the limits they aſſigned. They alledged, that thoſe commiſſions of the French government over Acadia, which the Engliſh cited as evidence of the limits they claimed, were given as commiſſions over Acadia and the country around it, and not over Acadia only: that the whole of the country claimed by the Engliſh as Acadia, could not poſſibly be ſuppoſed ever to be conſidered as ſuch, becauſe many parts of that territory always did, and ſtill do, preſerve particular and diſtinct names. They affirmed New France to be a province in itſelf; and argued, that many parts of what we claim as Acadia can never have been in Acadia, becauſe hiſtorians and the French commiſſions of government expreſsly place them in New France. They aſſerted, that no evidence can be drawn of the opinion of any crown, with reſpect to the limits of any country, from its declaration during the negociation of a treaty; and, in the end, relying upon maps and hiſtorians for the ancient limits of Acadia, they

CHAP. II.

1753.

BOOK III. 1753. they pretended that the expreſs reſtitution of St. Germain's and the poſſeſſion taken by France in conſequence of the treaty of Breda, after a long diſcuſſion of the limits, and the declaration of France during the negociation of the treaty of Utrecht, were foreign to the point in queſtion. In refutation of theſe maxims, the Engliſh commiſſaries proved, from an examination of the maps and hiſtorians cited by the French in ſupport of their ſyſtem, that if this queſtion was to be decided, upon the authorities which they themſelves allowed to belong, and to be applicable to this diſcuſſion, the limits which they aſſigned were utterly inconſiſtent with the beſt maps of all countries, which are authorities in point for almoſt every part of the claim of Great Britain. They ſhewed, that the French hiſtorians, Champlain and Denys, and particularly this laſt, with his commiſſion in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-five, aſſigned the ſame northern and weſtern limits to Acadia which they did; and that Eſcarbot, another of their hiſtorians, as far as any evidence can be drawn from his writings, agrees entirely with the former two. They obſerved, that all theſe evidences fall in with and confirm the better authorities of treaties, and the ſeveral tranſactions between the two crowns for near a century paſt; and that the French commiſſaries, by deviating from treaties, and the late proceedings of the two crowns, to ancient hiſtorians and maps, only made a tranſition from an authentick to an inſufficient ſort of evidence, and led the Engliſh commiſſaries into an enquiry, which proved, that both the proper and the improper, the regular and the foreign evidence, upon which this matter had been reſted, equally confuted the limits alledged by the French commiſſaries as the ancient limits of Acadia.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

§ I. *Ambitious schemes of the French in North-America.* § II. *Rise and conduct of the Ohio Company.* § III. *Letter from the Governor of Virginia to the French Commander at Riviere-au-Beuf.* § IV. *Perfidious practices of the French in Nova-Scotia.* § V. *Major Laurence defeats the French neutrals.* § VI. *British Ambassador at Paris amused with general promises.* § VII. *Session opened.* § VIII. *Supplies granted.* § IX. *Repeal of the act for naturalizing Jews.* § X. *Motion for repealing a former act favourable to the Jews.* § XI. *East India mutiny-bill.* § XII. *Case of Le ——.* § XIII. *Session closed.* § XIV. *Death of Mr. Pelham. Change in the ministry.* § XV. *New Parliament assembled and prorogued.* § XVI. *Disputes in the Irish Parliament.* § XVII. *Transactions in the East-Indies.* § XVIII. *Account of the English settlements on the Malabar and Coromandel coast.* § XIX. *Dispute about the government of Arcot.* § XX. *Mahommed Ali Khan supported by the English.* § XXI. *Mr. Clive takes Arcot.* § XXII. *And defeats the enemy in the plains of Arani, and at Koveripauk.* § XXIII. *He reduces three forts, and takes M. d'Anteuil.* § XXIV. *Chunda Saib taken and put to death, and his army routed.* § XXV. *Convention between the East-India Companies of England and France.* § XXVI. *General view of the British colonies in North-America.* § XXVII. *New England and New-York.* § XXVIII. *New Jersey.* § XXIX. *Pennsylvania.* § XXX. *Maryland.* § XXXI. *Virginia.* § XXXII. *The two Carolinas.* § XXXIII. *Georgia.* § XXXIV. *The French surprize Logs-Town, on the Ohio.* § XXXV. *Conference with the Indians at Albany.* § XXXVI. *Colonel Washington defeated and taken by the French on the Ohio.* § XXXVII. *Divisions among the British*

tiſh colonies. § XXXVIII. *The Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel profeſſes the Roman Catholick religion.* § XXXIX. *Parliament of Paris recalled from exile.* § XL. *Affairs of Spain and Portugal.* § XLI. *Seſſion opened.* § XLII. *Supplies granted.* § XLIII. *Bill in Behalf of Chelſea Penſioners.* § XLIV. *Oxfordſhire election.* § XLV. *Meſſage from the King to the Houſe of Commons.* § XLVI. *Court of Verſailles amuſes the Engliſh miniſtry.* § XLVII. *Seſſion cloſed.*

BOOK III. 1753.

§ I. WHILE the Britiſh miniſtry depended upon the ſucceſs of the conferences between the Commiſſaries of the two crowns at Paris, the French were actually employed in executing their plans of encroachment upon the Britiſh colonies in North-America. Their ſcheme was to engroſs the whole fur-trade of that continent; and they had already made great progreſs in extending a chain of forts, connecting their ſettlements on the river Miſſiſſippi with their poſſeſſions in Canada, along the great lakes of Eria and Ontario, which laſt iſſues into the river St. Lawrence. By theſe means they hoped to exclude the Engliſh from all communication and traffick with the Indian nations, even thoſe that lay contiguous to the Britiſh ſettlements, and confine them within a line of their drawing, beyond which they ſhould neither extend their trade nor plantations. Their commercial ſpirit did not keep pace with the gigantic ſtrides of their ambition: they could not ſupply all thoſe Indians with the neceſſaries they wanted, ſo that many of the natives had recourſe to the Engliſh ſettlements; and this commerce produced a connexion, in conſequence of which the Britiſh adventurers ventured to travel with merchandize as far as the banks of the river Ohio, that runs into the Miſſiſſippi, a great way on the other ſide of the Apalachian mountains, beyond which none of our coloniſts had ever attempted to

 penetrate.

penetrate. The tract of country lying along the Ohio is so fertile, pleasant, and inviting, and the Indians, called Twightees, who inhabit those delightful plains, were so well disposed towards a close alliance with the English, that, as far back as the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, Mr. Spotswood, Governor of Virginia, proposed a plan for erecting a company to settle such lands upon this river as should be ceded to them by treaty with the natives; but the design was at that time frustrated, partly by the indolence and timidity of the British ministry, who were afraid of giving umbrage to the French, and partly by the jealousies and divisions subsisting between the different colonies of Great-Britain. The very same circumstances encouraged the French to proceed in their project of invasion. At length, they penetrated from the banks of the river St. Lawrence, across lake Champlain, and upon the territory of New-York built with impunity, and, indeed, without opposition, the fort of Crown-Point, the most insolent and dangerous encroachment that they had hitherto carried into execution.

CHAP. III. 1753.

§ II. Governor Spotswood's scheme for an Ohio company was revived immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, when certain merchants of London, who traded to Maryland and Virginia, petitioned the government on this subject, and were indulged not only with a grant of a great tract of ground to the southward of Pennsylvania, which they promised to settle, but also with an exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians on the banks of the river Ohio. This design no sooner transpired, than the French Governor of Canada took the alarm, and wrote letters to the Governors of New-York and Pennsylvania, giving them to understand, that as the English inland traders had encroached on the French territories and privileges, by trading with the Indians under the protection of his Sovereign, he would seize

BOOK III. 1753. ſeize them wherever they could be found, if they did not immediately deſiſt from that illicit practice. No regard being paid to this intimation, he next year cauſed three Britiſh traders to be arreſted. Their effects were confiſcated, and they themſelves conveyed to Quebeck, from whence they were ſent priſoners to Rochelle in France, and there detained in confinement. In this ſituation they preſented a remonſtrance to the Earl of Albemarle, at that time Engliſh Ambaſſador in Paris, and he claiming them as Britiſh ſubjects, they were ſet at liberty. Although, in anſwer to his Lordſhip's memorial, the Court of Verſailles promiſed to tranſmit orders to the French Governors in America to uſe all their endeavours for preventing any diſputes that might have a tendency to alter the good correſpondence eſtabliſhed between the two nations; in all probability the directions given were ſeemingly the very reverſe of theſe profeſſions, for the French commanders, partiſans, and agents in America, took every ſtep their buſy genius could ſuggeſt, to ſtrengthen their own power, and weaken the influence of the Engliſh, by embroiling them with the Indian nations. This taſk they found the more eaſy, as the natives had taken offence againſt the Engliſh, when they underſtood that their lands were given away without their knowledge, and that there was a deſign to build forts in their country, without their conſent and concurrence. Indeed the perſon whom the new Company employed to ſurvey the banks of the Ohio concealed his deſign ſo carefully, and behaved in other reſpects in ſuch a dark myſterious manner, as could not fail to arouſe the jealouſy of a people naturally inquiſitive, and very much addicted to ſuſpicion. How the Company propoſed to ſettle this acquiſition in deſpite of the native poſſeſſors it is not eaſy to conceive, and it is ſtill more unaccountable that they ſhould have neglected the natives, whoſe conſent and aſſiſtance they might have procured

procured at very ſmall expence. Inſtead of acting ſuch a fair, open, and honourable part, they ſent Mr. Giſt to make a clandeſtine ſurvey of the country, as far as the falls of the river Ohio; and, as we have obſerved above, his conduct alarmed both the French and Indians. The erection of this company was equally diſagreeable to the ſeparate traders of Virginia and Pennſylvania, who ſaw themſelves on the eve of being deprived of a valuable branch of traffick, by the excluſive charter of a monopoly; and therefore they employed their emiſſaries to foment the jealouſy of the Indians.

CHAP. III. 1753.

§ III. The French having in a manner commenced hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, and actually built forts on the territories of the Britiſh allies at Niagara, and on the lake Erie, Mr. Hamilton, Governor of Pennſylvania, communicated this intelligence to the Aſſembly of the province, and repreſented the neceſſity of erecting truck-houſes, or places of ſtrength and ſecurity, on the river Ohio, to which the traders might retire in caſe of inſult or moleſtation. The propoſal was approved, and money granted for the purpoſe; but the Aſſembly could not agree about the manner in which they ſhould be erected; and in the mean time the French fortified themſelves at leiſure, and continued to haraſs the traders belonging to the Britiſh ſettlements. Repeated complaints of theſe encroachments and depredations being repreſented to Mr. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, he, towards the latter end of this very year, ſent Major Waſhington with a letter to the commanding officer of a fort which the French had built on the Riviere-au-Beuf, which falls into the Ohio, not far from the lake Erie. In this letter Mr. Dinwiddie expreſſed his ſurprize that the French ſhould build forts and make ſettlements on the river Ohio, in the weſtern part of the colony of Virginia, belonging to the Crown of Great-Britain. He complained of theſe encroachments, as well as of the injuries done to the ſubjects of Great-Britain, in open violation

BOOK III. 1753.

violation of the law of nations, and of the treaties actually ſubſiſting between the two Crowns. He deſired to know by whoſe authority and inſtructions his Britannick Majeſty's territories had been invaded; and required him to depart in peace, without further proſecuting a plan which muſt interrupt the harmony and good underſtanding which his Majeſty was deſirous to continue and cultivate with the Moſt Chriſtian King. To this ſpirited intimation the officer replied, That it was not his province to ſpecify the evidence, and demonſtrate the right of the King his maſter to the lands ſituated on the river Ohio; but he would tranſmit the letter to the Marquis du Queſne, and act according to the anſwer he ſhould receive from that nobleman. In the mean time, he ſaid he did not think himſelf obliged to obey the ſummons of the Engliſh Governor; that he commanded the fort by virtue of an order from his General, to which he was determined to conform with all the preciſion and reſolution of a good officer. Mr. Dinwiddie expected no other reply, and therefore had projected a fort to be erected near the forks of the river. The province undertook to defray the expence, and the ſtores for that purpoſe were already provided; but, by ſome fatal overſight, the concurrence of the Indians was neither obtained nor ſollicited, and, therefore, they looked upon this meaſure with an evil eye, as a manifeſt invaſion of their property.

§ IV. While the French thus induſtriouſly extended their encroachments to the ſouthward, they were not idle in the gulf of St. Lawrence, but ſeized every opportunity of diſtreſſing the Engliſh ſettlement of Nova-Scotia. We have already obſerved, that the town of Halifax was no ſooner built, than they ſpirited up the Indians of that neighbourhood to commit hoſtilities againſt the inhabitants, ſome of whom they murdered, and others they carried priſoners to Louiſbourg, where they ſold them for arms and ammunition, the French pretending that

they

they maintained this traffick from motives of pure compassion, in order to prevent the massacre of the English captives, whom, however, they did not set at liberty without exacting an exorbitant ransom. As these skulking parties of Indians were generally directed and headed by French commanders, repeated complaints were made to the Governor of Louisbourg, who still answered, that his jurisdiction did not extend over the Indians, and that their French conductors were chosen from the inhabitants of Annapolis, who thought proper to remain in that country after it was ceded to the English, and were, in fact, the subjects of Great-Britain. Even while the conferences were carried on for ascertaining the limits of Nova-Scotia, the Governor of Canada detached M. La Corne, with some regular troops, and a body of militia, to fortify a post on the bay of Chignecto, on pretence that this and a great part of the peninsula belonged to his government. The possession of this post not only secured to the Indians of the continent a free entrance into the peninsula, and a safe retreat in case of pursuit; but also encouraged the French inhabitants of Annapolis to rise in open rebellion against the English government.

§ V. In the spring of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, General Cornwallis, Governor of Halifax, detached Major Laurence with a few men to reduce them to obedience. At his approach they burned their town to ashes, forsook their possessions, and threw themselves under the protection of M. La Corne, who, thus reinforced, found himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, well provided with arms and ammunition. Major Laurence being unable to cope with him in the field, demanded an interview, at which he desired to know for what cause the French inhabitants of Nova-Scotia had shaken off their allegiance to the Crown of Great-Britain, and violated the neutrality which they had hitherto affected to profess. The French officer,

without

BOOK III. 1753. without pretending to account for their behaviour, gave him to underſtand in general terms, that he had orders to defend his poſt, and theſe orders he was determined to obey. The Engliſh Major finding himſelf too weak to attack their united force, and having no orders to commit hoſtilities againſt any but the Indians and their open abettors, returned to Halifax, without having been able to fulfil the purpoſe of his expedition. Immediately after his retreat, the French neutrals (ſo they were called) returned to the habitations which they had abandoned; and, in conjunction with the Indians, renewed their depredations upon the inhabitants of Halifax and its dependent ſettlements. The Engliſh Governor, juſtly incenſed at theſe outrages, and ſeeing they would neither ſubmit to the Engliſh government themſelves, nor allow others to enjoy it with tranquillity, reſolved to expel them effectually from the country they ſo ill deſerved to poſſeſs. Major Laurence was again detached with a thouſand men, tranſported by ſea to Chignecto, where he found the French and Indians entrenched, in order to diſpute his landing. Notwithſtanding this oppoſition, he made a deſcent with a few companies, received and returned a ſmart fire, and ruſhing into their entrenchments, obliged them to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving a conſiderable number killed and wounded on the ſpot. The fugitives ſaved themſelves by croſſing a river, on the farther bank of which La Corne ſtood at the head of his troops, drawn up in order to receive them as friends and dependents. He had by this time erected a fort, which he denominated Beau Sejour; and now the Engliſh built another on the oppoſite ſide of the river, which was called after its founder St. Laurence. This being provided with a good garriſon, ſerved as a check upon the French, and in ſome meaſure reſtrained the incurſions of their barbarians. Not that it effectually anſwered this purpoſe; for the Indians and Neutrals ſtill ſeized every

every opportunity of attacking the Engliſh in the interior parts of the peninſula. In the courſe of the ſucceeding year they ſurprized the little town of Dartmouth, on the other ſide of Halifax-bay, where they killed and ſcalped a great number of people, and carried off ſome priſoners. For theſe expeditions the French always ſupplied them with boats, canoes, arms, and ammunition; and indeed they were conducted with ſuch care and ſecrecy, that it was almoſt impoſſible to prevent their ſucceſs. One ſure remedy againſt the ſudden and ſtolen incurſions of thoſe ſavages might have been found in the uſe of ſtaunch hounds, which would have run upon the foot, detected the ſkulking parties of the Indians, and fruſtrated all their ambuſcades: but this expedient, ſo eaſy and practicable, was never tried, though frequently recommended in publick to the attention of the government, and the conſideration of the coloniſts. The Indians continued to plunder and maſſacre the Britiſh ſubjects with impunity, and were countenanced by the French government in that country, who now ſtrengthened their lodgment on the neck of the peninſula with an additional fort, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Baye-verte; and built a third at the mouth of St. John's river, on the north ſide of the bay of Fundy.

§ VI. All theſe previous ſteps to a rupture with England were taken with great deliberation, while the commiſſaries of both nations were diſputing about the limits of the very country which they thus arrogantly uſurped; and they proceeded to perfect their chain of forts to the ſouthward, without paying the leaſt regard to the expoſtulations of the Engliſh Governors, or to a memorial preſented at Verſailles by the Earl of Albemarle, the Britiſh Miniſter. He demanded that expreſs orders ſhould be ſent to M. De la Jonquiere, the Commander for the French in America, to deſiſt from violence againſt the Britiſh ſubjects in that country: that the fort of Niagara ſhould be

BOOK III. 1753. be immediately raiſed: that the ſubjects of Great-Britain, who had been made priſoners, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and indemnified for the loſſes they had ſuſtained; and that the perſons who had committed theſe exceſſes ſhould be puniſhed in an exemplary manner. True it is, ſix Engliſhmen, whom they had unjuſtly taken, were immediately diſmiſſed; and the Ambaſſador amuſed with general promiſes of ſending ſuch inſtructions to the French Governor in America, as ſhould anticipate any cauſe of complaint for the future; but, far from having any intention to perform theſe promiſes, the Court of Verſailles, without all doubt, exhorted La Jonquiere to proceed in bringing its ambitious ſchemes to perfection.

§ VII. Every incident in America ſeemed to prognoſticate war, when the ſeſſion of Parliament was opened on the fifteenth day of November; yet his Majeſty, on this occaſion, told them, that the events of the year had not made it neceſſary for him to offer any thing in particular to their conſideration relating to foreign affairs. He even declared, that the continuance of the publick tranquillity, and the general ſtate of Europe, remained upon the ſame footing as when they laſt parted; and aſſured them of his ſteadineſs in purſuing the moſt effectual meaſures to preſerve to his people the bleſſings of peace. He expreſſed uncommon concern, that the horrid crimes of robbery and murder were of late rather increaſed than diminiſhed, and earneſtly recommended this important object to their ſerious attention. Affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both Houſes in anſwer to this harangue; and, what was very remarkable, they were propoſed and paſſed without queſtion or debate.

§ VIII. The Commons continued the ſame number of ſeamen and land-forces for the enſuing year, which had been granted in the laſt ſeſſion, and made ſuitable proviſion for all the exigencies of the ſtate. The whole ſupply amounted to two millions ſeven hundred

hundred ninety-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and ſixteen pounds, ten ſhillings, and two-pence, to be raiſed by a land-tax of two ſhillings in the pound, a malt-tax, a continuation of certain duties on wine, vinegar, cyder, and beer imported, a ſum taken from the ſinking-fund, and the overplus of certain grants, funds, and duties. The proviſions made conſiderably exceeded the grants; but this exceſs was chargeable with the intereſt of what ſhould be borrowed upon the credit in the land or malt-tax, there being a clauſe of credit in both, as alſo with the deficiency (if any ſhould happen) in the ſums they were computed to produce. The Houſe agreed to all theſe reſolutions almoſt unanimouſly: indeed, no oppoſition was made to any of them, but that for continuing the ſame number of land-forces, which was carried by a great majority.

§ IX. The act permitting Jews to be naturalized, which had, during the laſt ſeſſion, triumphed over ſuch an obſtinate oppoſition, was by this time become the object of national horror and execration. Every part of the kingdom reſounded with the reproach of the miniſtry who had enforced ſuch an odious meaſure; and the two brothers, who engroſſed the greater part of the adminiſtration, trembled at the proſpect of what this clamour might produce at the general election, this being the laſt ſeſſion of the preſent Parliament. So eager were the miniſters to annul this unpopular meaſure, that, immediately after the Peers had agreed to the nature and form of an addreſs to his Majeſty, the Duke of Newcaſtle, with that precipitation ſo peculiar to his character, poured forth an abrupt harangue in that Houſe, importing, that the diſaffected had made an handle of the act paſſed laſt ſeſſion in favour of the Jews, to raiſe diſcontents among many of his Majeſty's good ſubjects; and as the act was in itſelf of little importance, he was of opinion it ought to be repealed; for this purpoſe he preſented a bill ready framed,

BOOK III. 1753. framed, which was read and committed, though not without some debate. The naturalization bill, now devoted as a sacrifice to the resentment of the people, containing a clause disabling all naturalized Jews from purchasing, inheriting, or receiving any advowson or presentation, or right to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, school, hospital, or donative; and by the first draft of the bill, which his Grace now presented, it was intended that this clause should not be repealed. It was the opinion, however, of the majority, that such a clause standing unrepealed might imply, that the Jews, by being thus expresly excluded from the possession of any ecclesiastical right of presentation, would be considered as having the power and privilege of purchasing and inheriting any lay-property in the kingdom. On this consideration an amendment was made in the bill, the clause in question was left out, and the whole act of naturalization repealed without exception*. Though the Lords, in general, concurred in the expediency of the repeal, it was opposed by some few, as too great a sacrifice to the idle and unfounded clamours of the multitude; and upon this side of the debate a great power of elocution was displayed by Earl Temple, who had lately succeeded to this title on the death of his mother, a nobleman of distinguished abilities, and the most amiable disposition, frank, liberal, humane, and zealously attached to the interest and honour of his country. In the Lower House, the members of both parties seemed to vie with each other in demonstrations of aversion to this unpopular act. On the very first day of the session, immediately after

* The reverend bench of Bishops had, with a laudable spirit of christian meekness and philanthropy, generally approved of the indulgence granted to their Hebrew brethren; and now they acquiesced in the proposed repeal with the same passive discretion, though one of the number contended for the saving clause which the Duke of N—— had recommended.

the

the motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty, Sir James Daſhwood, an eminent leader in the oppoſition, gave the Commons to underſtand, that he had a motion of very great importance to make, which would require the attention of every member, as ſoon as the motion for the addreſs ſhould be diſcuſſed; he therefore deſired they would not quit the Houſe, until he ſhould have an opportunity to explain his propoſal. Accordingly, they had no ſooner agreed to the motion for an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, than he ſtood up again; and having expatiated upon the juſt and general indignation which the act of the preceding ſeſſion, in favour of the Jews, had raiſed among the people, he moved to order that the Houſe ſhould be called over on Tueſday the fourth day of December, for taking that act into conſideration: but being given to underſtand, that it was not uſual to appoint a call of the Houſe for any particular purpoſe, he agreed that the motion ſhould be general. It was ſeconded by Lord Parker, his oppoſite in political intereſts; the Houſe agreed to it without oppoſition, and the call was ordered accordingly. They were anticipated, however, by the Lords, who framed and tranſmitted to them a bill on the ſame ſubject, to the purport of which the Commons made no objection; for every member, having the fear of the general election before his eyes, carefully avoided every expreſſion which could give umbrage to his conſtituents: but violent oppoſition was made to the preamble, which ran in the following ſtrain:—" Whereas an act of " Parliament was made and paſſed in the twenty- " fifth year of his Majeſty's reign, intituled, An " Act to permit perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh reli- " gion, to be naturalized by Parliament, and for " other purpoſes therein mentioned; and whereas " occaſion has been taken, from the ſaid act, to " raiſe diſcontents, and diſquiets in the minds of his " Majeſty's ſubjects, be it enacted, &c." This introduction

BOOK III. 1753.

troduction was considered as an unjust reflection upon the body of the people in general, and in particular upon those who had opposed the bill in the course of the preceding session. Sir Roger Newdigate therefore moved, that the expression should be varied to this effect: "Whereas great discontents and disquietudes had from the said act arisen." The consequence of this motion was an obstinate debate, in which it was supported by the Earl of Egmont, and divers other able orators: but Mr. Pelham and Mr. Pitt were numbered among its opponents. The question being put for the proposed alteration, it was of course carried in the negative: the bill, after the third reading, passed *nemine contradicente*, and in due time obtained the Royal assent.

§ X. Even this concession of the ministry did not allay the resentment of the people, and their apprehensions of encroachment from the Jews. Another act still subsisted, by virtue of which any person professing the Jewish religion might become a free denizen of Great-Britain, after having resided seven years in any of his Majesty's colonies in America; and this was now considered as a law, having the same dangerous tendency, of which the other was now in a fair way of being convicted. It was moved, therefore, in the Lower House, that part of this former act might be read: then the same member made a motion for an address to his Majesty, desiring that the House might have the perusal of the lists transmitted from the American colonies to the commissioners for trade and plantations, containing the names of all such persons professing the Jewish religion, as had entitled themselves to the benefit of the said act, since the year one thousand seven hundred and forty. These lists were accordingly presented, and left upon the table for the perusal of the members: but as this act contained no limitation of time within which the benefit of it should be claimed, and as this claim was attended with a good

good deal of trouble and some expence; very few persons had availed themselves of it in that period. Nevertheless, as a great number of Jews were already entitled to claim this indulgence, and as it remained an open channel through which Great-Britain might be deluged with those people, all of whom the law would hold as natural-born subjects; and their progeny as freed from all the restrictions contained in the act with respect to naturalized foreigners, Lord Harley moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the said act as related to persons professing the Jewish religion, who should come to settle in any British colony after a certain time. The motion was seconded by Sir James Dashwood, and supported by the Earl of Egmont; but being found unequal to the interest and elocution of Mr. Pelham and Mr. Pitt, was rejected by the majority.

CHAP. III. 1753.

§ XI. The next object that claimed the attention of the Commons, was a bill for improving the regulations already made to prevent the spreading of a contagious distemper, which raged among the horned cattle in different parts of the kingdom. The last bill of this session that had the good fortune to succeed, was brought in for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the East-India company, and for the punishment of offences committed in the East-Indies and the island of St. Helena. This being a measure of a very extraordinary nature, all the members were ordered to attend the House on the day fixed for the second reading: at the same time all charters, commissions, and authorities, by which any powers relative to a military jurisdiction, or the exercise of martial law, had been granted or derived from the crown to the said company, were submitted to the perusal of the members. The bill was by many considered as a dangerous extension of military power, to the prejudice of the civil rights enjoyed by British subjects; and as such violently contested by the earl of Egmont; An. 1754.

BOOK III. 1754.

mont, Lord Strange, and Mr. Alderman Beckford. Their objections were anſwered by the Solicitor-General and Mr. Yorke. The bill, after ſome warm debates, being eſpouſed by the miniſtry, was enacted into a law, and diſpatched to the Eaſt-Indies by the firſt opportunity.

§ XII. Some other motions were made, and petitions preſented on different ſubjects, which, as they miſcarried, it will be unneceſſary to particulariſe. It may not be amiſs, however, to record an exemplary act of juſtice done by the Commons on a perſon belonging to a publick office, whom they detected in the practice of fraud and impoſition. Notwithſtanding the particular care taken in the laſt ſeſſion, to prevent the monopolizing of tickets in the ſtate-lottery, all thoſe precautions had been eluded in a ſcandalous manner by certain individuals, entruſted with the charge of delivering the tickets to the contributors, according to the intent of the act, which expreſsly declared that not more than twenty ſhould be ſold to any one perſon. Inſtead of conforming to theſe directions of the legiſlature, they and their friends engroſſed great numbers, ſheltering themſelves under a falſe liſt of feigned names for the purpoſe; by which means they not only defeated the equitable intention of the Commons, but in ſome meaſure injured the publick credit; inaſmuch as their avarice had prompted them to ſubſcribe for a greater number than they had caſh to purchaſe, ſo that there was a deficiency in the firſt payment, which might have had a bad effect on the publick affairs. Theſe practices were ſo flagrant and notorious as to attract the notice of the Lower Houſe, where an enquiry was begun, and proſecuted with a ſpirit of real patriotiſm, in oppoſition to a ſcandalous cabal, who endeavoured with equal eagerneſs and perſeverance to ſcreen the delinquents. All their efforts, however, proved abortive; and a committee, appointed to examine particulars, agreed to ſeveral

severe resolutions against one Le—, who had amassed a large fortune by this and other kinds of peculation. They voted him guilty of breach of trust, and a direct violation of the lottery act; and an address was presented to his Majesty, desiring he might be prosecuted by the Attorney-General for these offences. He was accordingly sued in the court of King's-Bench, and paid a fine of one thousand pounds, for having committed frauds by which he had gained forty times that sum; but he was treated with such gentleness as remarkably denoted the clemency of that tribunal.

§ XIII. The session ended in the beginning of April, when the King gave the Parliament to understand, that he should say nothing at present on foreign affairs; but assured them of his fixed resolution to exert his whole power in maintaining the general tranquillity, and adhering to such measures for that purpose as he had hitherto pursued in conjunction with his allies. He in very affectionate terms thanked both Houses, for the repeated proofs they had given of their zealous attachment and loyalty to his person and government. He enumerated the salutary measures they had taken for lessening the national debt, and augmenting the publick credit, extending navigation and commerce, reforming the morals of the people, and improving the regulations of civil œconomy. He concluded with declaring, that he securely relied upon the loyalty and good affection of his people, and had no other aim than their permanent happiness. In a little time after the close of this session they were dissolved by proclamation, and new writs issued by the Lord Chancellor for convoking a new Parliament. The same ceremonies were practised with respect to the convocations of Canterbury and York; though they no longer retained their former importance; nor, indeed, were they suffered to sit and deliberate upon the

BOOK III. 1754. the subjects which formerly fell under their cognizance and discussion.

§ XIV. In the beginning of March, the ministry of Great-Britain had been left without a head by the death of Mr. Pelham, which was not only sincerely lamented by his Sovereign, but also regretted by the nation in general, to whose affection he had powerfully recommended himself by the candour and humanity of his conduct and character, even while he pursued measures which they did not entirely approve. The loss of such a minister was the more deeply felt by the government at this juncture, being the eve of a general election for a new Parliament, when every administration is supposed to exert itself with redoubled vigilance and circumspection. He had already concerted the measures for securing a majority, and his plan was faithfully executed by his friends and adherents, who still engrossed the administration. His brother, the Duke of Newcastle, was appointed First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and succeeded as Secretary of State by Sir Thomas Robinson, who had long resided as Ambassador at the Court of Vienna. The other department of this office was still retained by the Earl of Holdernesse, and the function of Chancellor of the Exchequer was performed as usual by the Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, until a proper person could be found to fill that important office; but in the course of the summer it was bestowed upon Mr. Legge, who acquitted himself with equal honour and capacity. Divers other alterations were made, of less importance to the publick, Sir George Lyttleton was appointed Cofferer, and the Earl of Hillsborough Comptroller of the Household. Mr. George Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, became Treasurer of the Navy; and Mr. Charles Townshend, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, took place as a Commissioner at the Board of Admiralty, in the room of

of Lord Barrington, made Maſter of the Wardrobe. Lord Hardwick, the Chancellor, was promoted to the dignity of an Earl. The place of Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench becoming vacant by the death of Sir William Lee, was filled with Sir Dudley Rider, and he was ſucceeded by Mr. Murray in the office of Attorney-General.

CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XV. The elections for the new Parliament generally ſucceeded according to the wiſh of the miniſtry; for oppoſition was now dwindled down to the loweſt ſtate of imbecility. It had received a mortal wound by the death of the late Prince of Wales, whoſe adherents were too wiſe to purſue an *ignis fatuus*, without any proſpect of ſucceſs or advantage. Some of them had prudently ſung their palinodia to the miniſtry, and been gratified with profitable employments; while others, ſetting too great a price upon their own importance, kept aloof till the market was over, and were left to pine in ſecret over their diſappointed ambition. The maxims of Toryiſm had been relinquiſhed by many, as the barren principles of a loſing game; the body of the people were conciliated to the eſtabliſhed government; and the harmony that now, for the firſt time, ſubſiſted among all the branches of the Royal family, had a wonderful effect in acquiring a degree of popularity which they had never before enjoyed. The writs being returned, the new Parliament was opened on the laſt day of May by the Duke of Cumberland, and ſome other Peers, who acted by virtue of a commiſſion from his Majeſty. The Commons having choſen for their Speaker the Right Hon. Arthur Onſlow, who had honourably filled that high office in four preceding Parliaments, he was preſented and approved by the Commiſſioners. Then the Lord High Chancellor harangued both Houſes, giving them to underſtand, that his Majeſty had indulged them with this early opportunity of coming together, in order to complete without

 loſs

BOOK III. 1754. loſs of time certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the ſatisfaction of his good ſubjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any points of general buſineſs, reſerving every thing of that nature to the uſual time of their aſſembling in the winter. On the fifth day of June this ſhort ſeſſion was cloſed, and the Parliament prorogued by the Lords Commiſſioners.

§ XVI. In the beginning of this year violent diſputes aroſe between the government and the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, on the almoſt forgotten ſubjects of privilege and prerogative. The Commons conceived they had an undoubted right to apply the ſurplus of their revenue towards national purpoſes, without the conſent of their Sovereign; and, accordingly, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine, prepared a bill with this preamble: "Whereas on the twenty-fifth day of "March laſt a conſiderable balance remained in the "hands of the Vice-Treaſurers or Receivers-General "of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, un-"applied; and it will be for your Majeſty's ſervice, "and for the eaſe of your faithful ſubjects in this "kingdom, that ſo much thereof as can be con-"veniently ſpared ſhould be paid, agreeably to "your Majeſty's moſt gracious intentions, in diſ-"charge of part of the national debt." This appropriation gave great offence to the advocates for prerogative in England, who affirmed that the Commons had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take any ſuch affair into conſideration, without the previous conſent of the crown, expreſſed in the moſt explicit terms. It was in conſequence of this doctrine, that the Duke of Dorſet, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, told them in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, held in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-one, he was commanded by the King to acquaint them, that his Majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of his

his ſubjects, would graciouſly conſent and recommended it to them, that ſuch a part of the money then remaining in his treaſury, as ſhould be thought conſiſtent with the publick ſervice, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt. This declaration alarmed the Commons, zealous as they were for the preſervation of their privileges; and in their addreſs of thanks, which, like that of the Parliament of Great-Britain uſed always to echo back the words of the ſpeech, they made no mention of his Majeſty's conſent; but only acknowledged his gracious attention to their eaſe and happineſs, in recommending to them the application of the ſurplus. They accordingly reſolved to apply one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of that overplus towards a diſcharge of the national debt; and, in the preamble of the bill, framed for this purpoſe, made no mention of his Majeſty's conſent, though before they had acknowledged his goodneſs in recommending this application. The miniſtry in England were highly offended at this purpoſed omiſſion, which they conſtrued into a wilful encroachment on the prerogative; and the bill was ſent back with an alteration in the preamble, ſignifying his Majeſty's conſent as well as recommendation. The Iriſh Houſe of Commons being at that time deeply engaged in a minute enquiry into the conduct of a gentleman, a ſervant of the crown, and a member of their own Houſe, accuſed of having miſapplied a large ſum of money, with which he had been entruſted, for rebuilding or repairing the barracks, were now unwilling to embroil themſelves farther with the government, until this affair ſhould be diſcuſſed. They, therefore, paſſed the bill with the alteration, and proceeded with their enquiry. The perſon was convicted of having miſapplied the publick money, and ordered to make the barracks fit for the reception and accommodation of the troops at his own expence. They did not,

BOOK III. 1754. not, however, neglect to assert what they thought their rights and privileges, when the next opportunity occurred. The Duke of Dorset, when he opened the session of this year, repeated the expression of his Majesty's gracious consent, in mentioning the surplus of the publick money. They again omitted that word in their address; and resolved, in their bill of application, not only to sink this odious term, but likewise to abate in their complaisance to the crown, by leaving out that expression of grateful acknowledgement, which had met with such a cold reception above. By this time the contest had kindled up two violent factions, and diffused a general spirit of resentment through the whole Irish nation. The committee who prepared the bill, instead of inserting the usual compliments in the preamble, mentioned nothing but a recital of facts, and sent it over in a very plain dress, quite destitute of all embroidery. The ministry, intent upon vindicating the prerogative from such an unmannerly attack, filled up the omissions of the committee, and sent it back with this alteration: "And "your Majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously "pleased to signify that you would consent, and to "recommend it to us, that so much of the money "remaining in your Majesty's treasury as should be "necessary to be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or such part thereof as should be "thought expedient by Parliament." This then being the crisis, which was to determine a constitutional point of such importance, namely, whether the people in Parliament assembled have a right to deliberate upon, and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue, without the previous consent of the crown; those who were the most zealously attached to the liberties of their country resolved to exert themselves in opposing what they conceived to be a violation of those liberties; and the

the bill, with its alterations, was rejected by a majority of five voices. The ſucceſs of their endeavours was celebrated with the moſt extravagant rejoicings, as a triumph of patriotiſm over the arts of miniſterial corruption; and, on the other hand, all the ſervants of the crown, who had joined the popular cry on this occaſion, were in a little time diſmiſſed from their employments. The rejection of the bill was a great diſappointment to the creditors of the publick, and the circulation of caſh was almoſt ſtagnated. Theſe calamities were imputed to arbitrary deſigns in the government; and the people began to be inflamed with an enthuſiaſtick ſpirit of independency, which might have produced miſchievous effects, had not artful ſteps been taken to bring over the demagogues, and thus divert the ſtream of popular clamour from the miniſtry to thoſe very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration. The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons was promoted to the dignity of an Earl; and ſome other patriots were gratified with lucrative employments. His Majeſty's letter arrived for paying off ſeventy-five thouſand five hundred pounds of the national debt. The circulation was thus animated, and the reſentment of the populace ſubſiding, the kingdom retrieved its former tranquillity.

CHAP. III. 1754.

§ XVII. The ambition and intrigues of the French Court, by which the Britiſh intereſt was invaded and diſturbed on the continent of America, had alſo extended itſelf to the Eaſt-Indies, where they endeavoured to embroil the Engliſh company with divers Nabobs, or Princes, who governed different parts of the peninſula intrà Gangem. That the reader may have a clear and diſtinct idea of theſe tranſactions, we ſhall exhibit a ſhort ſketch of the Engliſh forts and ſettlements in that remote country. The firſt of theſe we ſhall mention is Surat*, in the province

* Several European nations had ſettlements at Surat, which was one of the moſt frequented cities of the Eaſt, from the great concourſe of

BOOK III. 1754.

province so called, situated between the twenty-first and twenty-second degrees of north latitude: from hence the peninsula stretches into the Indian ocean as far as the latitude of eight north, ending in a point at Cape Comorin, which is the southern extremity. To the northward this peninsula joins to Indostan, and at its greatest breadth extends seven hundred miles. Upon the west, east, and south, it is washed by the sea. It comprehends the kingdoms of Malabar, Decan, Golconda, and Bisnagar, with the principalities of Gingi, Tanjaour, and Madura. The western side is distinguished by the name of the Malabar coast: the eastern takes the denomination of Coromandel; and, in different parts of this long sweep, from Surat round Cape Comorin to the bottom of the bay of Bengal, the English and other European powers have, with the consent of the Mogul, established forts and trading settlements. All these kingdoms, properly speaking, belong to the Mogul; but his power was so weakened by the last invasion of Kouli Khan, that he has not been able to assert his Empire over this remote country; the tributary Princes of which, and even the Nabobs, who were originally Governors appointed under their authority, have rendered themselves independent and exert an absolute dominion over their respective territories, without acknowledging his superiority either by tribute or

of Mahometan pilgrims, who make it their road from India, in their visits to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca. In order to keep the seas clear of pirates between Surat and the gulf of Arabia and Persia, the Mogul had been at the annual expence of a large ship fitted out on purpose to carry the pilgrims to Judda, which is within a small distance of Mecca. For the security of this ship, as well as to protect the trade of Surat, he granted to his Admiral, *the siddee* chief of a colony of caffrees, or blacks, a revenue called the Tanka, to the value of three lacks of rupees, amounting to above thirty seven thousand pounds, arising partly from the adjacent lands, and partly from the revenues of Surat, which were paid him yearly by the Governor of the castle, who is appointed by the Mogul to keep the city under proper subjection, without, however, interfering with the government of it.

homage.

homage. These Princes, when they quarrel among themselves, naturally have recourse to the assistance of such European powers as are settled in or near their dominions; and in the same manner the East-Indian companies of the European powers which happen to be at war with each other, never fail to interest the Nabobs in the dispute. CHAP III. 1754.

§ XVIII. The next English settlement to Surat, on the coast of the peninsula, is Bombay, in the kingdom of Decan, a small island, with a very convenient harbour, about five-and-forty leagues to the south of Surat. The town is very populous: but the soil is barren, and the climate unhealthy; and the commerce was rendered very precarious by the neighbourhood of the famous Corsair Angria, until his port of Geriah was taken, and his fortifications demolished. The English company likewise carry on some traffick at Dabul, about forty leagues further to the south, in the province of Cuncan. In the same southerly progression, towards the point of the peninsula, we arrive at Carwar, in the latitude of fifteen degrees, where there is a small fort and factory belonging to the company, standing on the south side of a bay, with a river capable of receiving ships of pretty large burthen. The climate here is remarkably salubrious: the country abounds with provisions of all sorts, and the best pepper of India grows in this neighbourhood. The next English settlement we find at Tillicherry, where the company has erected a fort, to defend their commerce of pepper and cardamoms from the insults of the Rajah, who governs this part of Malabar. Hither the English trade was removed from Calicut, a large town that stands fifteen leagues to the southward of Tillicherry, and was as well frequented as any port on the coast of the Indian peninsula. The most southerly settlement which the English possess on the Malabar coast is that of Anjengo, between the eighth and ninth degrees of latitude.

BOOK III. 1754. latitude. It is defended by a regular fort, situated on a broad river, which falls into the sea, and would be very commodious for trade, were not the water on the bar too shallow to admit ships of considerable burthen. Then turning the Cape, and passing through the strait of Chilao, formed by the island of Ceylon, we arrive on the coast of Coromandel, which forms the eastern side of the isthmus. Prosecuting our course in a northern direction, the first English factory we reach is that of Fort St. David's formerly called Tegapatan, situated in the latitude of eleven degrees forty minutes north, within the kingdom of Gingi. It was, about six-and-twenty years ago, sold by a Mahratta Prince to the East-India company, and, next to Bombay, is the most considerable settlement we have yet mentioned. Its territory extends about eight miles along the coast, and half that space up to the country, which is delightfully watered by a variety of rivers: the soil is fertile, and the climate healthy. The fort is regular, well provided with cannon, ammunition, and a numerous garrison, which is the more necessary, on account of the neighbourhood of the French settlement at Pondicherry*. But the chief settlement belonging to the company on this coast is that of Madras, or Fort St. George, standing farther to the northward, between the thirteenth and fourteenth degrees of Latitude, and not a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda. It is seated on a flat, barren, scorching sand, so near the sea, that in bad weather, the walls are endangered by the mighty surges rolled in from the ocean. As the soil is barren, the climate is so intensely hot, that it would be altogether uninhabitable, were not the heat mitigated by the sea-breezes. On the land-side it is defended by a salt-water river, which, while it contributes to the security of the place, robs the

* The trade consists of long cloths of different colours, sallampores, morees, dimities, ginghams, and succations.

inhabitants

CHAP. III. 1754.

inhabitants of one great comfort, by obſtructing the ſprings of freſh water. The fort is a regular ſquare, the town ſurrounded with walls well mounted with artillery, and the place, including the Black Town, is very populous. Madras, with ſeveral villages in the neighbourhood, was purchaſed of the King of Golconda, before the Mogul became Sovereign of this country. The Governor of this place is not only preſident of Fort St. George, but alſo of all the other ſettlements on the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, as far as the iſland of Sumatra. He lives in great pomp, having inferior judges, who paſs ſentence of death occaſionally on malefactors of any nation, except the ſubjects of Great-Britain. All the company's affairs are directed by him and his council, who are inveſted with the power of inflicting corporal puniſhment, ſhort of life and member, upon ſuch Europeans as are in the ſervice, and diſpoſe of all places of truſt and profit. By virtue of an act paſſed in the courſe of this very ſeſſion, the military officers belonging to the company were permitted to hold courts-martial, and puniſh their ſoldiers according to the degree of their delinquency. In a word, Madras is of the utmoſt importance to the company for its ſtrength, wealth, and the great returns it makes in callicoes and muſlins. Towards the latter end of the laſt century the Engliſh company had a flouriſhing factory at Maſulipatam, ſtanding on the north ſide of the river Nagundi, which ſeparates the provinces of Golconda and Biſnagar, in the latitude of ſixteen degrees and thirty minutes; but now there is no European ſettlement here, except a Dutch Factory, maintained for carrying on the chintz commerce. At Viſgapatam, ſituated ſtill farther to the northward, the Engliſh poſſeſs a factory, regularly fortified, on the ſide of a river, which, however, a dangerous bar has rendered unfit for navigation. The adjacent country affords cotton cloths, and the beſt ſtriped muſlins of

India.

BOOK III. 1754. India. It is chiefly for the use of this settlement that the company maintains a factory at Ganjam, the most eastern town in the province or kingdom of Golconda, situated in a country abounding with rice and sugar canes. Still farther to the north coast, in the latitude of twenty-two degrees, the company maintains a factory at Balasore, which was formerly very considerable; but hath been of very little consequence since the navigation of the river Huguely was improved. At this place every European ship bound for Bengal and the Ganges takes in a pilot. The climate is not counted very salubrious; but the adjacent country is fruitful to admiration, and here are considerable manufactures of cotton and silk. Without skilful pilots, the English would find it very difficult to navigate the different channels through which the river Ganges discharges itself into the sea at the bottom of the bay of Bengal. On the southern branch is a town called Pepely, where there was formerly an English factory: but this was removed to Huguely, one hundred and sixty miles farther up the river; a place which, together with the company's settlement at Calcutta, were the emporiums of their commerce for the whole kingdom of Bengal. Indeed Huguely is now abandoned by the English, and their whole trade centers at Calcutta or Fort William, which is a regular fortification, containing lodgings for the factors and writers, store-houses for the company's merchandize, and magazines for their ammunition. As for the Governor's house, which likewise stands within the fort, it is one of the most regular structures in all India. Besides these settlements along the sea-coast, of the peninsula, and on the banks of the Ganges, the English East-India company possess certain inland factories and posts for the convenience and defence of their commerce, either purchased of the Nabobs and Rajahs, or conquered in the course of the war. As the operations

we

we propose to record were confined to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, or the interior countries which form the peninsula intrà Gangem, it will be unnecessary to describe the factory at Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra, or any settlement which the English possess in other parts of the East-Indies.

CHAP. III.

1754.

§ XIX. In order to understand the military transactions of the English company in India, the reader will take notice, that immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Monsieur Dupleix, who commanded for the French in that country, began by his intrigues to sow the seeds of dissension among the Nabobs, that he might be the better able to fish in troubled waters. Nizam Almuluck, the Mogul's Viceroy of Decan, having the right of nominating a Governor of the Carnatick, now more generally known by the name of the Nabob of Arcot, appointed Anaverdy Khan to that office, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five. The Viceroy dying was succeeded in his Viceroyalty or Subaship, by his second son Nazirzing, whom the Mogul confirmed. He was opposed in his pretensions by his own cousin Muzapherzing, who had recourse to the assistance of M. Dupleix, and obtained from him a reinforcement of Europeans and artillery, in consideration of many presents and promises, which he fulfilled in the sequel. Thus reinforced, and joined by one Chunda Saib, an active Indian chief, he took the field against his kinsman Nazirzing, who was supported by a body of English troops under Colonel Laurence. The French, dreading an engagement, retired in the night; and Muzapherzing, seeing himself abandoned by all his own troops, appealed to the clemency of his cousin, who spared his life, but detained him as a State prisoner. In this situation, he formed a conspiracy against his kinsman's life, with Nazirzing's prime minister, and the Nabobs of Cadupab and Condaneor, then in his camp; and the conspirators were encou-

BOOK III. 1754.

encouraged in their ſcheme by Dupleix and Chunda Saib, who had retired to Pondicherry. Thus ſtimulated, they murdered Nazirzing in his camp, and proclaimed Muzapherzing Viceroy of Decan. In the tents of the murdered Viceroy they found an immenſe treaſure, of which a great ſhare fell to M. Dupleix, whom Muzapherzing the uſurper at this time aſſociated in the government. By virtue of this aſſociation the Frenchman aſſumed the ſtate and formalities of an eaſtern Prince; and he and his colleague Muzapherzing appointed Chunda Saib Nabob of Arcot; Anaverdy Khan, the late Nabob, had been, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine, defeated and ſlain by Muzapherzing and Chunda Saib, with the aſſiſtance of their French auxiliaries; and his ſon Mahommed Ali Khan had put himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh at Madras, and was confirmed by Nazirzing, as his father's ſucceſſor in the Nabobſhip, or government of Arcot. This government, therefore, was diſputed between Mahommed Ali Khan, appointed by the legal Viceroy Nazirzing, ſupported by the Engliſh company, and Chunda Saib, nominated by the uſurper Muzapherzing, and protected by Dupleix, who commanded at Pondicherry. Muzapherzing did not long ſurvive his uſurpation. In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-one, the ſame Nabobs who had promoted him to his kinſman's place, thinking themſelves ill rewarded for their ſervices, fell upon him ſuddenly, routed his troops, and put him to death; and next day the chiefs of the army proclaimed Sallabatzing, brother to Nazirzing, Viceroy of Decan: on the other hand, the Mogul appointed Gauzedy Khan, who was the elder brother of Sallabatzing; and this Prince confirmed Mahommed Ali Khan in the government of Arcot: but the affairs of the Mogul's Court were then in ſuch confuſion, that he could not ſpare an army to ſupport the nomination he had made.

Chunda

Chunda Saib, Nabob of Arcot, having been depoſed by the Great Mogul, who placed Anaverdy Khan in his room, he reſolved to recover his government by force, and had recourſe to the French General at Pondicherry, who reinforced him with two thouſand ſepoys, or ſoldiers of the country, ſixty caffrees, and four hundred and twenty French troops, on condition that, if he proved ſucceſsful in his enterpriſe, he ſhould cede to the French the town of Velur, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, with its dependencies, conſiſting of forty-five villages. Thus reinforced, he defeated his rival Anaverdy Khan, who loſt his life in the engagement, reaſſumed the government of Arcot, and punctually performed the conditions which had been ſtipulated by his French allies.

§ XX. Mahommed Ali Khan, at the death of his father had fled to Tiruchirapalli*, and ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, who favoured him with a reinforcement of money, men, and ammunition, under the conduct of Major Laurence, a brave and experienced officer. By dint of this ſupply, he gained ſome advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat; but no deciſive blow was given. Mahommed afterwards repaired in perſon to Fort St. David's, to demand more powerful ſuccours, alledging that his fate was connected with the intereſt of the Engliſh company, which in time would be obliged to abandon the whole coaſt, ſhould they allow the enemy to proceed in their conqueſts. In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, he received another ſtrong reinforcement, under the command of Captain Cope; but nothing of importance was attempted, and the Engliſh auxiliaries retired. Then Mahommed was attacked by the enemy, who obtained

* Tiruchirapalli, commonly called Trichinopoly, ſituated near the river Cauveri, above two hundred miles to the ſouthward of Madras, is the capital of a ſmall kingdom belonging to the government of Arcot, and bounded on the eaſt by the kingdom of Tanjore.

BOOK III. 1754. obtained a complete victory over him. Finding it impossible to maintain his footing by his own strength, he entered into a close alliance with the English, and ceded to them some commercial points, which had been long in dispute. Then they detached Captain Cope to put Tiruchirapalli in a posture of defence; while Captain de Gingins, a Swiss officer, marched at the head of four hundred Europeans to the Nabob's assistance. The two armies being pretty equal in strength, lay encamped in sight of each other a whole month; during which nothing happened but a few skirmishes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the English auxiliaries. In order to make a diversion, and divide the French forces, the company resolved to sent a detachment into the province of Arcot; and this was one of the first occasions upon which the extraordinary talents of Mr. Clive were displayed. He had entered into the service of the East-India company as a writer, and was considered as a person very indifferently qualified for succeeding in any civil station of life. He now offered his service in a military capacity, and actually began his march to Arcot, at the head of two hundred and ten Europeans, with five hundred sepoys*.

§ XXI. Such was the resolution, secrecy, and dispatch, with which he conducted this enterprise, that the enemy knew nothing of his motions until he was in possession of the capital, which he took without opposition. The inhabitants, expecting to be plundered, offered him a large sum to spare their city; but they derived their security from the generosity and discretion of the conqueror. He refused the proffered ransom, and issued a proclamation, intimating, That those who were willing to remain in their houses should be protected from insult and injury, and the rest have leave to retire with all their

* The sepoys are the mercenaries of the country, who are hired as soldiers occasionally by all parties.

effects, except provisions, for which he promised to pay the full value. By this sage conduct he conciliated the affections of the people so entirely, that even those who quitted the place supplied him with exact intelligence of the enemy's designs, when he was besieged in the sequel. The town was in a little time invested by Raja Saib, son of Chunda Saib, at head of a numerous army, and the operations of the siege were conducted by European engineers. Though their approaches were retarded by the repeated and resolute sallies of Mr. Clive, they at length effected two breaches supposed to be practicable; and on the 14th day of October, in the year 1751, gave a general assault. Mr. Clive, having received intimation of their design, had made such preparations for their reception, that they were repulsed in every quarter with great loss, and obliged to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation.

§ XXII. This gallant Englishman, not contented with the reputation he had acquired from his noble defence, was no sooner re-inforced by a detachment under Captain Kirkpatrick from Trichinopoly, than he marched in pursuit of the enemy, whom he overtook in the plains of Arani. There, on the third day of December, he attacked them with irresistible impetuosity; and, after an obstinate dispute, obtained a complete victory at a very small expence. The forts of Timery, Caujeveram, and Aranie, surrendered to the terror of his name, rather than to the force of his arms; and he returned to Fort St. David's in triumph. He had enjoyed a very few weeks of repose, when he was summoned to the field by fresh incursions of the enemy. In the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, he marched with a small detachment to Madras, where he was joined by a reinforcement from Bengal, the whole number not exceeding three hundred Europeans, and assembled a body of the natives, that

BOOK III. 1754. that he might have at leaſt the appearance of an army. With theſe he proceeded to Koveripauk, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where he found the French and Indians, conſiſting of fifteen hundred ſepoys, ſeventeen hundred horſe, a body of natives, and one hundred and fifty Europeans, with eight pieces of cannon. Though they were advantageouſly poſted and entrenched, and the day was already far advanced, Mr. Clive advanced againſt them with his uſual intrepidity; but the victory remained for ſome time in ſuſpence. It was now dark, and the battle doubtful, when Mr. Clive ſent round a detachment to fall in the rear of the French battery. This attack was executed with great reſolution, while the Engliſh in front entered the entrenchments with their bayonets fixed; and, though very little tinctured with diſcipline, diſplayed the ſpirit and activity of hardy veterans. This double attack diſconcerted the enemy in ſuch a manner, that they ſoon deſiſted from all oppoſition. A conſiderable carnage enſued; yet the greater part of the enemy, both horſe and foot, ſaved themſelves by flight, under cover of the darkneſs. The French, to a man, threw down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; and all the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victor.

§ XXIII. The province of Arcot being thus cleared of the enemy, Mr. Clive with his forces returned to Fort St. David's, where he found Major Laurence juſt arrived from England*, to take upon him the command of the troops in the Company's ſervice. On the eighteenth day of March this officer, accompanied by Mr. Clive, took the field, and was joined by Captain de Gingins at Tiruchirapalli. From hence he detached Mr. Clive with four hundred European ſoldiers, a few Mahratta horſe, and a body of ſepoys, to cut off the enemy's retrreat to

* Major Laurence had failed for England in the year 1750.

Pondi-

Pondicherry. In the courſe of this expedition he diſlodged a ſtrong body of the foe poſted at Samiaveram, and obliged Chunda Saib to throw a body of troops into a ſtrong fortified temple, or pagoda, upon the river Koleroon, which was immediately inveſted. The commanding officer, in attempting to eſcape, was ſlain with ſome others, and the reſt ſurrendered at diſcretion. They were ſtill in poſſeſſion of another fortified temple, which he alſo beſieged in form, and reduced by capitulation. Having ſubdued theſe forts, he marched directly to Volconda, whither he underſtood the French Commander D'Anteuil had retired. He found that officer entrenched in a village, from whence he drove him with precipitation, and made himſelf maſter of the French cannon. The enemy attempted to ſave themſelves in a neighbouring fort; but the gates being ſhut againſt them by the Governor, who was apprehenſive that they would be followed pell-mell by the Engliſh, Mr. Clive attacked them with great fury, and made a conſiderable ſlaughter: but his humanity being ſhocked at this carnage, he ſent a flag of truce to the vanquiſhed, with terms of capitulation, which they readily embraced. Theſe articles imported, that D'Anteuil, and three other officers, ſhould remain priſoners on parole for one year; that the garriſon ſhould be exchanged, and the money and ſtores be delivered to the Nabob whom the Engliſh ſupported.

CHAP. III.

1754.

§ XXIV. During theſe tranſactions Chunda Saib lay encamped with an army of thirty thouſand men at Syrinham, an iſland in the neighbourhood of Tiruchirapalli, which he longed eagerly to poſſeſs. Hither Major Laurence marched with his Indian allies*, and took his meaſures ſo well, that the enemy's

* His army conſiſted of twelve hundred Europeans and Topaſſes in battalions, two thouſand ſepoys, with the forces of the Nabob, the Kings of Tanjore, Muiſſack, and the Mahrattas; amounting to

BOOK III. 1754.

my's provisions were entirely intercepted. Chunda Saib, in attempting to fly was taken prisoner by the Nabob of Tanjore, an ally of the English company, who ordered his head to be struck off, in order to prevent the disputes which otherwise would have arisen among the captors*. The main body of the army being attacked by Major Laurence, and totally defeated, the island of Syrinham was surrendered, and about a thousand European French soldiers, under the command of Mr. Law, nephew to the famous Law who schemed the Mississippi company, fell into the hands of the conquerors, including thirty officers, with forty pieces of cannon, and ten mortars. M. Dupleix, though exceedingly mortified by this disaster, resolved to maintain the cause which he had espoused. He proclaimed Rajah Saib, the son of Chunda Saib, Nabob of Arcot; and afterwards pretended that he himself had received from the Mogul sanids or commissions, appointing him Governor of all the Carnatick, from the river Kristnah to the sea: but these sanids appeared in the sequel to be forged. In order to complete the comedy, a supposed messenger from Delhi was received at Pondicherry as Ambassador from the Mogul. Dupleix, mounted on an elephant, preceded by musick and dancing women, in the oriental manner, received in publick his commission from the hands of the pretended Ambassador. He affected the eastern state, kept his darbar or court, where he appeared sitting cross-legged on a sopha, and received presents as Prince of the country from his own council, as well

to fifteen hundred horse and ten thousand infantry. Topasses are descendants from the Portuguese. The Mahrattas are native Indians of a very numerous and powerful nation, which hath more than once given law to the Mogul.

* Chunda Saib demanded leave of the Tanjore General to pass through his camp to Tanjore, and this request was granted; but instead of being allowed to pass, he was detained prisoner, and as the Allies could not agree about the matter, in which he should be disposed of, some of the Tanjore officers, of their own accord, ended the dispute, by cutting off his head.

as from the natives. In the mean time, hoſtilities continued between the forces of the two companies, as auxiliaries to the contending Nabobs. The Engliſh, under Major Kinnier, made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Gingee, a ſtrong town ſituated to the weſt of Pondicherry. Major Laurence defeated a ſtrong body of French and natives, commanded by Dupleix's nephew, M. de Kerjean, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and took him priſoner, together with fifteen officers: after this ſucceſs, Mr. Clive reduced the forts of Covelong and Chengalput, the laſt very ſtrong, ſituated about forty miles to the ſouthward of Madras. On the other hand, M. Dupleix intercepted at ſea Captain Schaub, with his whole Swiſs company, whom he detained priſoners at Pondicherry, although the two nations were not at war with each other. During theſe tranſactions Sallabatzing, with a body of French under M. de Buſſy, advanced towards Aurengabad, which was the ſeat of government; but he was oppoſed by a chief of the Mahrattas, at the head of a numerous army. In the mean time, Gawzedy Khan, the elder brother of Sallabatzing, whom the Mogul had appointed viceroy of Decan, took poſſeſſion of his government at Aurengabad, where, in fourteen days after his arrival, he was poiſoned by his own ſiſter. The Mogul immediately appointed his ſon Schah Abadin Khan to ſucceed his father; and this Prince actually raiſed an army to come and take poſſeſſion: but the Mogul's affairs requiring his preſence at Delhi, he was obliged to poſtpone his deſign, ſo that Sallabatzing was left without a competitor, and made a preſent to the French of all the Engliſh ſettlements to the northward. Thus concluded the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two. Next campaign was chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, where Major Laurence made ſeveral vigorous attacks upon the enemy's army, and obtained many advantages, which, however, did not prove

BOOK III. 1754. prove decisive, because he was so much out-numbered that he could never follow his blow.

§ XXV. In the course of this year, the Mogul was deposed by his General Schah Abadin Khan, the viceroy of Decan, who raised to the throne Allum Geer, another Prince of the Blood. In the succeeding year, a negociation was set on foot by Mr. Saunders, Governor of Madras, and M. Dupleix; and conferences were opened at Sadrass a Dutch settlement between Pondicherry and Fort St. George: but this proved abortive; and many other gallant efforts were made by Major Laurence in the territory of Trichinopoly, which still continued to be the scene of action. In the course of this year Admiral Watson arrived on the coast of Coromandel with a squadron of ships of war, having on board a regiment commanded by Colonel Aldercroon: at the same time the ships from France brought over to Pondicherry the Sieur Godeheu, Commissary-general and Governor-general of all their settlements, at whose arrival Dupleix departed for Europe. The new Governor immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Saunders, professing the most pacifick inclinations, and proposing a suspension of arms between the two Companies until their disputes could be amicably adjusted. This proposal was very agreeable to the Governor and council at Madras, and a cessation of arms actually took place in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four. Deputies being sent to Pondicherry, a provisional treaty and truce were concluded, on condition that neither of the two Companies should for the future interfere in any difference that might arise between the Princes of the country. The other articles related to the places and settlements that should be retained or possessed by the respective Companies, until fresh orders relating to this agreement should arrive from the Courts of London and Versailles, transmitted by the two East-India Companies

panies of France and England. Until ſuch orders ſhould arrive, it was ſtipulated that neither nation ſhould be allowed to procure any new grant or ceſſion, or to build forts for the defence of new eſtabliſhments; and that they ſhould not proceed to any ceſſion, retroceſſion, or evacuation of what they then poſſeſſed; but every thing ſhould remain on the footing of *uti poſſidetis*. How pacifick ſoever the ſentiments of the French ſubjects might have been at this period in the Eaſt-Indies, certain it is, the deſigns of the French Governors in America were altogether hoſtile, and their conduct haſtening towards a rupture, which kindled up a bloody war in every diviſion of the globe.

§ XXVI. As this war may be termed a native of America, and the principal ſcenes of it were acted on that continent, we ſhall, for the information of the reader, ſketch out the ſituation of the then Britiſh colonies as they bordered on each other, and extended along the ſea coaſt, from the gulf of St. Lawrence as far ſouth as the country of Florida. We ſhall enumerate the Indian nations that lie ſcattered about their confines, and delineate the manner in which the French hemmed them in by a ſurpriſing line of fortifications. Should we comprehend Hudſon's Bay, with the adjacent countries, and the banks of Newfoundland, in this geographical detail, we might affirm that Great-Britain at that time poſſeſſed a territory along the ſea coaſt, extending ſeventeen hundred miles in a direct line, from the ſixtieth to the thirty-firſt degree of northern latitude; but as theſe two countries were not concerned in this diſpute, we ſhall advance from the northward to the ſouthern ſide of the gulf of St. Lawrence; and beginning with Acadia or Nova-Scotia, deſcribe our ſettlements, as they lie in a ſoutherly direction, as far as the gulf of Florida. This great tract of country, ſtretching fifteen degrees of latitude, is waſhed on the eaſt by the Atlantick Ocean: the

BOOK III. 1754. the southern boundary is Spanish Florida; but to the westward the limits are uncertain, some affirming that the jurisdiction of the colonies penetrates through the whole continent, as far as the South-sea; while others, with more moderation, think they are naturally bounded by the river Illionois that runs into the Mississippi, and in a manner connects that river with the chain of lakes known by the names of Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, the three first communicating with each other, and the last discharging itself into the river St. Lawrence, which running by Montreal and Quebec issues into the bay of the same denomination, forming the northern boundary of Nova-Scotia. The French, who had no legal claim to any lands on the south side of this river, nevertheless, with an insolence of ambition peculiar to themselves, not only extended their forts from the source of the St. Lawrence, through an immense tract of that country, as far as the Mississippi, which disembogues itself into the gulf of Florida; but also, by a series of unparalleled encroachments, endeavoured to contract the English colonies within such narrow limits as would have cut off almost one half of their possessions. As we have already given a geographical description of Nova-Scotia, and mentioned the particulars of the new settlement of Halifax, we shall now only observe, that it is surrounded on three sides by the sea, the gulf, and river of St. Lawrence; that its original boundary to the west was the river Pentagoet; but it is now contracted within the river St. Croix, because the Crown of Great-Britain did, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-three, grant to the Duke of York the territory of Sagadahack stretching from St. Croix, to the river of this name; which was in the sequel, by an express charter from the Crown, annexed to the province of Massachusett's-Bay, one of the four governments of New-England. This country, situated next to Nova-Scotia,

Scotia, lies between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, extending near three hundred miles in length, and about two hundred in breadth, if we bound it by those tracts which the French possessed: no part of the settlements of this country, however, stretches above sixty miles from the sea. The summer is here intensely hot, and the winter proportionably severe; nevertheless, the climate is healthy, and the sky generally serene. The soil is not favourable to any of the European kinds of grain; but produces great plenty of maiz, which the people bake into bread, and brew into beer, though their favourite drink is made of melasses hopped, and impregnated with the tops of the spruce-fir, which is a native of this country. The ground raises good flax and tolerable hemp. Here are great herds of black cattle, some of them very large in size, a vast number of excellent hogs, a breed of small horses, graceful, swift, and hardy; and large flocks of sheep, whose wool, though not so fine as that of England, is manufactured with great success.

§ XXVII. New England is composed of the four provinces known by the names of New-Hampshire, Massachusett's-Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. It is bounded on the south by New-York extending northerly on both sides of the river Hudson, about two hundred miles into the country possessed by the Indians of the Five Nations, whom the French distinguish by the name of the Irroquois; but in breadth this province does not exceed fifty miles, though it comprehends Long-island, lying to the southward of Connecticut. The capital, which derives from the province the name of New-York, is situated on an excellent harbour in the island of Manahatton, extending fourteen miles in length, and five in breadth, at the mouth of the noble river Hudson, which is navigable for above two hundred miles. At the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from New-York stands the town of Albany, upon the same river.

BOOK III. 1754. river. In this place all the treaties and other transactions were negociated between the English and the Irroquois, a confederacy of five Indian nations, who, by their union, courage, and military skill, had reduced a great number of other Indian tribes, and subdued a territory more extensive than the whole kingdom of France. They were about fourscore years ago able to bring ten thousand warriors into the field; but now their number is so greatly diminished by wars, epidemical diseases, and the use of spirituous liquors, that they cannot raise above fifteen hundred men, even though they have admitted into their confederacy the nation of the Tuscaroras, whom the English drove from the confines of Carolina. The Mohok Indians inhabit the country advanced from Albany. The northern extremities of New-Hampshire and New-York are divided by the lakes Champlain and Sacrament, between which the French had raised the fort of Crown-Point.

§ XXVIII. Contiguous to New-York, and lying along the coast, in a southerly direction, is the small province of New-Jersey, bounded on the west by the river Delaware, which divides it from Pennsylvania, extending about one hundred and fifty miles in length, but in breadth not more than one third of that extent. The climate, soil, and produce of these two provinces, as well as of Pennsylvania, are similar. They yield great quantities of grain, sheep, horses, hogs, and horned cattle; all kinds of poultry and game in great abundance; vegetables of every sort in perfection, and excellent fruit, particularly peaches and melons. Their vast forests abound with oak, ash, beech, chesnut, cedar, walnut-tree, cypress, hickery, sassafras, and pine; but the timber is not counted so fit for shipping as that of New-England and Nova-Scotia. These provinces produce great quantities of flax and hemp. New-York affords mines of iron, and very rich copper ore is found in New-Jersey.

§ XXIX.

CHAP. III.

1754.

§ XXIX. Pennſylvania, lying to the ſouthward of New-York and New-Jerſey, is bounded on the other ſide by Maryland, ſtretching two hundred and fifty miles in length, two hundred in breadth, and having no communication with the ſea, except by the mouth of the river Delaware. This province was originally ſettled by Quakers, under the auſpices of the celebrated William Penn, whoſe deſcendants are ſtill proprietaries of the country. Philadelphia, the capital, ſtands on a tongue of land, at the confluence of the two navigable rivers, the Delaware and the Sculkel, diſpoſed in the form of a regular oblong, and deſigned by the original plan to extend from the one to the other. The ſtreets, which are broad, ſpacious, and uniform, croſs each other at right angles, leaving proper ſpaces for churches, markets, and other publick edifices. The Houſes are neatly built of brick, the quays ſpacious and magnificent, the warehouſes large and numerous, and the docks commodious and well contrived for ſhip-building. Pennſylvania is underſtood to extend as far northerly as the banks of the lake Erie, where the French erected a fort. They alſo raiſed another at ſome diſtance to the ſouthward of the Riviere-au-Beuf, and made other encroachments on this colony.

§ XXX. Adjoining to part of Pennſylvania, on the ſea-coaſt, lies the province of Maryland, a tract of land ſituated along the bay of Cheſapeak, in length about one hundred and forty miles, and nearly of the ſame breadth, bounded on the north by Pennſylvania, on the eaſt by the Atlantic Ocean, and by the river Potowmack on the ſouth. This country was firſt planted with Roman Catholicks by Lord Baltimore, to whom Charles II. granted it by patent. In the ſequel, however, people of all religions were admitted into this ſettlement, and indulged with liberty of conſcience, and at preſent the reigning religion is that of the Engliſh church. The climate

BOOK III. 1754.

is very ſultry in ſummer, and not very ſalubrious. The ſoil is fruitful, and produces a great quantity of tobacco, which the people cultivate as their ſtaple commodity. The ſeat of government is eſtabliſhed at Annapolis, a ſmall town beautifully ſituated on the river Patuxent.

§ XXXI. Tracing the ſea-coaſt ſtill ſoutherly, the next ſettlement is Virginia, watered on the north by the river Potowmack, which is the boundary between this and the colony laſt deſcribed, having the bay of Cheſapeak to the eaſt, bounded on the ſouth by Carolina, and extending weſtward without any preſcribed limits, though the plantations have reached no farther than the great Allegany mountains; ſo that the province, as now poſſeſſed, ſtretches in length above two hundred and forty miles, and in breadth not above two hundred, lying between the fifty-fifth and fortieth degrees of latitude. In ſailing to Virginia, navigators ſteer through a ſtrait formed by two points, called the Capes, into the bay of Cheſapeak, a large inlet that runs three hundred miles into the country from ſouth to north, covered from the Atlantic Ocean by the eaſtern ſide of Maryland, and a ſmall portion of Virginia on the ſame peninſula. This noble bay is about eighteen miles broad for a conſiderable ſpace, and ſeven at its narroweſt part, yielding generally nine fathoms depth of water; on both ſides it receives many navigable rivers, thoſe on the Virginia ſide being known by the name of James-river, York-river, the Rappahannock, and Potowmack. This country, eſpecially towards the ſea, lies very low and ſwampy, and the ſoil is extremely fertile. The air and weather are variable, the heats of ſummer exceſſive, the froſts of winter ſudden, and intenſely cold; ſo that upon the whole, the climate is neither very agreeable nor healthy, the people being particularly ſubject to agues and pleuretick diſorders. The province abounds with vaſt foreſts of timber: the plains are

covered

covered with a ſurpriſing luxuriancy of vegetables, flowers, and flowering ſhrubs, diffuſing the moſt delicious fragrance. The ground yields plenty of corn, and every ſort of fruit in great abundance and perfection. Horned cattle and hogs have here multiplied to admiration, ſince they were firſt imported from Europe. The animals, natives of this and the neighbouring countries, are deer, panthers or tigers, bears, wolves, foxes, ſquirrels, racoons, and creatures called opoſſums, with an infinite variety of beautiful birds, and a diverſity of ſerpents, among which the rattleſnake is the moſt remarkable.

§ XXXII. Virginia is bounded to the ſouth by the two Carolinas, ſituated between the forty-ſixth and thirty-firſt degrees of latitude; the length amounting to upwards of four hundred miles, and the breadth extending near three hundred, as far as the Indian nations called the Catawbas, the Creeks, and Cherokees. The country of Carolina is divided into two governments, of which the moſt northern is the moſt inconſiderable. The climate in both is the ſame, as well as the ſoil: the firſt is warm, though not unhealthy; the laſt extremely fertile, yielding every thing in plenty which is produced in Virginia, beſides abundance of excellent oranges, and ſome commodities which are not found to the northward. North-Carolina, though not ſo opulent, is more populous than the ſourthern part. The coloniſts of North-Carolina carry on a conſiderable traffick in tar, pitch, turpentine, ſtaves, ſhingles, lumber, corn, peas, pork, and beef, tobacco, deer-ſkins, indigo, wheat, rice, bees-wax, tallow, bacon, and hog's lard, cotton, and ſquared timber, live cattle, with the ſkins of beaver, racoon, fox, minx, wild-cat, and otter. South-Carolina is much better cultivated; the people are more civiliſed, and the commerce more important. The capital of this province, called Charles-Town, is finely ſituated at the confluence of two navigable rivers,

BOOK III. 1754. rivers, having the advantage of a commodious harbour. Their trade, exclusive of the articles we have already mentioned as common to this government and that of North-Carolina, consists of two chief staple commodities, rice and indigo, which they cultivate with great success; and they have likewise made some progress in the culture of silk.

§ XXXIII. The most southern of all our settlements on this coast is Georgia, extending about sixty miles from north to south, along the sea-shore; but widening in the inland parts to above one hundred and fifty, and stretching almost three hundred from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. This country differs very little from that of South-Carolina, with which it borders; yet the summer is here more hot, and the soil not so fertile. Savannah the capital, stands commodiously for trade, about ten miles from the sea, on a river of the same name, navigable with large boats two hundred miles farther up to the second town called Augusta, a place that flourishes by the Indian trade of skins, which the inhabitants carry on with their neighbours the Creeks, the Chickesaws, and the Cherokees, who are the most numerous and powerful tribes in America. Georgia is bounded on the south by the river Attamaha, at no great distance from the Spanish fort of St. Augustin.

§ XXXIV. Having thus exhibited a succinct view of the British colonies in North-America, for the information of the reader, we shall now resume the thread of our history, and particularise the transactions by which the present year was distinguished on this extensive continent. The government of England having received nothing but evasive answers from the Court of France, touching the complaints that were made of the encroachments in America, dispatched orders to all the Governors of that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their settlements on the river Ohio. Accordingly,

ingly, the provinces of Virginia and Pennſylvania took this important affair into their conſideration; but while they deliberated, the French vigorouſly proſecuted their deſigns on the other ſide of the mountains. They ſurprized Log's-town, which the Virginians had built upon the Ohio; made themſelves maſters of the Block-houſe and Truck-houſe, where they found ſkins and other commodities to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds, and deſtroyed all the Britiſh traders, except two who found means to eſcape. At the ſame time, M. de Contrecœur, with a thouſand men, and eighteen pieces of cannon, arrived in three hundred canoes from Venango, a fort they had raiſed on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced by ſurprize a Britiſh fort which the Virginians had built on the forks of the Monangahela, that runs into the ſame river.

§ XXXV. Theſe hoſtilities were followed by divers ſkirmiſhes between the people of the two nations, which were fought with various ſucceſs. At length the Governors of the Engliſh ſettlements received orders from England to form a political confederacy, for their mutual defence: and the Governor of New-York was directed to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations, with a view to detach them from the French intereſt by dint of promiſes and preſents of value, ſent over for that purpoſe. A congreſs was accordingly appointed at Albany, to which place the Governor of New-York repaired, accompanied by Commiſſioners from all the other Britiſh ſettlements: but a very ſmall number of Indians arrived, and even theſe ſeemed to be indifferent to the advances and exhortations that were made by the Engliſh orator. The truth is, the French had artfully weaned them from their attachment to the ſubjects of Great-Britain. Nevertheleſs, they accepted the preſents, renewed their treaties with the King of England, and even demanded his aſſiſtance in driving the French from the poſts and

 poſſeſſions

BOOK III. 1754. possessions they had usurped within the Indian territories. It was in consequence of the measures here taken, that Colonel Washington was detached from Virginia with four hundred men, and occupied a post on the banks of the river Ohio, where he threw up some works, and erected a kind of occasional fort, in hopes of being able to defend himself in that situation, until he should be joined by a reinforcement from New-York, which, however, did not arrive.

§ XXXVI. While he remained in this situation, De Viller, a French Commander, at the head of nine hundred men, being on his march to dislodge Washington, detached one Jamonville, an inferior officer, with a small party, and a formal summons to Colonel Washington, requiring him to quit the fort, which he pretended was built on ground belonging to the French, or their allies. So little regard was paid to this intimation, that the English fell upon this party, and, as the French affirm, without the least provocation, either slew or took the whole detachment. De Viller, incensed at these unprovoked hostilities, marched up to the attack, which Washington for some time sustained under manifold disadvantages. At length, however, he surrendered the fort upon capitulation, for the performance of which he left two officers as hostages in the hands of the French; and in his retreat was terribly harassed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage, and massacred his people. This event was no sooner known in England, than the British Ambassador at Paris received directions to complain of it to the French ministry, as an open violation of the peace; but this representation had no effect.

§ XXXVII. Both nations by this time foresaw that a rupture would be inevitable, and each resolved to make suitable preparations. France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of ammunition to Quebec, for the prosecution of her ambitious

bitious projects; and the ministry of Great-Britain transmitted salutary cautions to the Governors of the provinces in North-America, exhorting them to join their endeavours for repelling the incursions of the enemy. Such an union as seemed necessary for their common preservation was not easily effected. The different colonies were divided by different views and interests, both religious and political: besides, every settlement was distracted into factions, formed by the governor and the demagogues of the assembly: in other words, an opposition like that in Parliament, and a continual struggle between the liberties of the people and the prerogative of the proprietor, whether sovereign or subject. Mr. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, having demanded a certain perquisite for fee for every patent he should pass for land, the assembly voted his demand illegal, arbitrary, and oppressive. They declared that every man who paid it should be deemed an enemy to his country, and sent over an agent to London, to sollicit the suppression of this imposition. The representatives of the people in Pennsylvania wasted the time in vain deliberations and violent disputes with their proprietors, while the enemy infested their frontiers. The colony of New-York was filled with discontent and animosity. Sir Danvers Osborn, who had been appointed Governor of this province, died immediately after his arrival at New-York, and the instructions he had received were exposed to publick censure. The preamble inveighed severely against the want of duty, allegiance, loyalty, and unanimity, which had lately appeared so notorious in the assembly of that province, who had violated the royal commission and instructions, by assuming to themselves the power to dispose of publick money in the law which they had occasionally passed. This gentleman was, therefore, directed to insist upon the reformation of all those publick abuses, and upon the establishment of a certain supply for the service of

BOOK III. 1754. ertion of their authority. The Chatelot continued to profecute thofe priefts, who refufed the facrament to perfons whofe confciences would not allow them to fubfcribe to the bull Unigenitus, even after three of their members were fent to the Baftile. The fame profecutions were carried on, and bold remonftrances publifhed by the Parliaments of Aix and Rouen. In a word, the whole kingdom was filled with fuch confufion as threatened a total fuppreffion of juftice, in a general fpirit of difaffection, and univerfal anarchy. The prelates, meanwhile, feemed to triumph in the combuftion they had raifed. They entered into affociations to fupport each other: they intrigued at court, and haraffed the King with infolent declarations, till he grew tired of their proceedings, and opened his eyes to the fatal confequences of their pride and obftinacy. He even took an opportunity of exhorting the Archbifhop of Paris to act more fuitably to the character of a clergyman. He recalled the Parliament from exile, and they returned in triumph, amidft the acclamations of the people, who celebrated their arrival at Paris with the moft extravagant demonftrations of joy; and the Archbifhop, notwithftanding the King's exprefs declaration to the contrary, ftill perfifting in countenancing the recufant priefts, was banifhed to Conflans-fous-Charenton.

§ XL. In Spain, the intereft of Great-Britain was fo warmly efpoufed, and fo powerfully fupported by Mr. Wall, who had been refident in England, that the French party, though countenanced by the Queen-mother, and fuftained with all the influence of the Marquis de la Enfenada, the prime minifter, was totally defeated. The King being convinced, that it would be for the intereft of his fubjects to live on good terms with England, and well apprized of Enfenada's intrigues, ordered that minifter to be arrefted and confined, and beftowed upon Mr. Wall the beft part of his employments. Neverthelefs, the

the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies continued to oppreſs the ſubjects of Great-Britain, employed in cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras; and repreſentations on this head being made to the Court of Madrid, the diſpute was amicably adjuſted between Mr. Wall and Sir Benjamin Keene, the Britiſh Ambaſſador. While the intereſt of Britain thus triumphed in Spain, it ſeemed to loſe ground at the Court of Liſbon. His Portugueſe Majeſty had formed vaſt projects of an active commerce, and even eſtabliſhed an Eaſt-India company: in the mean time he could not help manifeſting his chagrin at the great quantities of gold which were yearly exported from his dominions, as the balance due from his ſubjects on Engliſh commodities. In his endeavours to check this traffick, which he deemed ſo detrimental to his ſubjects, he inflicted hardſhips on the Britiſh merchants ſettled at Liſbon: ſome were impriſoned on frivolous pretences: others deprived of their property, and obliged to quit the kingdom. He inſiſted upon laying an impoſition of two per cent. on all the Portugueſe gold that ſhould be exported; but the profits of the trade would not bear ſuch an exaction. Meanwhile, there being a ſcarcity of corn in Portugal, the kingdom was ſupplied from England; and the people having nothing but gold to purchaſe this neceſſary ſupply, the King ſaw the neceſſity of conniving at the exportation of his coin, and the trade reverted into its former channel.

§ XLI. On the fourteenth day of November the King of Great-Britain opened the ſeſſion of Parliament with an harangue, which intimated nothing of an approaching rupture. He ſaid, That the General State of affairs in Europe had undergone very little alteration ſince their laſt meeting; that he had lately received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from his good brother the King of Spain of friendſhip and confidence, which he would cultivate with harmony and good

BOOK III. 1754.

good faith. He declared his principal view ſhould be to ſtrengthen the foundation, and ſecure the duration of a general peace; to improve the preſent advantages of it for promoting the trade of his good ſubjects, and protecting thoſe poſſeſſions which conſtituted one great ſource of their wealth and commerce. Finally, he exhorted them to complete their plan for appropriating the forfeited eſtates in the Highlands to the ſervice of the publick. He probably avoided mentioning the encroachments of France, that he might ſupply no handle for debates on the addreſs, which was carried in both Houſes almoſt without oppoſition. The government ſeemed determined to humble the inſolence of the French councils; and this diſpoſition was ſo agreeable to the people in general, that they grudged no expence, and heartily concurred with the demands of the miniſtry.

§ XLII. The Commons granted for the ſervice of the enſuing year four millions ſeventy-three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-nine pounds; one million of that ſum expreſsly given for enabling his Majeſty to augment his forces by land and ſea. Thirty-two thouſand pounds were allotted as a ſubſidy to the King of Poland, and twenty thouſand to the Elector of Bavaria. Theſe gratifications met with little or no oppoſition in the committee of ſupply; becauſe it was taken for granted, that, in caſe of a rupture, France would endeavour to avail herſelf of her ſuperiority by land, by invading his Britannick Majeſty's German dominions; and therefore it might be neceſſary to ſecure the aſſiſtance of ſuch allies on the continent. That they prognoſticated aright, with reſpect to the deſigns of that ambitious power, will ſoon appear in the courſe of this hiſtory; which will alſo demonſtrate how little dependence is to be placed upon the profeſſed attachment of ſubſidiary Princes. The ſupplies were raiſed by the ſtanding branches of the revenue, the land-tax and malt-tax, and a lottery for

for one million; one hundred thousand pounds of it to be deducted for the service of the publick, and the remaining nine hundred thousand to be charged on the produce of the sinking-fund, at the rate of three per cent. per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six. The civil transactions of this session were confined to a few objects. Divers new regulations were made for encouraging and improving the whale and white herring fishery, as well as for finishing and putting in a proper state of defence a new fort, lately built at Anamaboe on the coast of Africa.

§ XLIII. Mr. Pitt, the Paymaster-General of the forces, brought in a bill, which will ever remain a standing monument of his humanity. The poor disabled veterans who enjoyed the pension of Chelsea hospital, were so iniquitously oppressed by a set of miscreants, who supplied them with money per advance, at the most exorbitant rates of usury, that many of them, with their families, were in danger of starving; and the intention of government in granting such a comfortable subsistence was in a great measure defeated. Mr. Pitt, perceiving that this evil originally flowed from the delay of the first payment, which the pensioner could not touch till the expiration of a whole year after he had been put upon the list, removed this necessity of borrowing, by providing in the bill, that half a year's pension should be advanced half a year before it is due; and the practice of usury was effectually prevented by a clause, enacting, that all contracts should be void by which any pension might be mortgaged. This humane regulation was unanimously approved, and having passed through both Houses with uncommon expedition, received the Royal assent.

§ XLIV. Notwithstanding the unanimity manifested by the Commons, in every thing relating to the measures for acting vigorously against the common

BOOK III. 1754.

mon enemy of the nation, they were remarkably disturbed and divided by a contested election of members for Oxfordshire. In the course of this dispute, the strength and influence of what they called the old and new interest, or, to speak more intelligibly, of the Tories and Whigs in that county, were fully displayed. The candidates sustained on the shoulders of the old interest, were Lord Viscount Wenman and Sir James Dashwood: their competitors, whom the new interest supported, and of consequence the ministry countenanced, were Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner. Never was any contention of this kind maintained with more spirit and animosity, or carried on at a greater expence. One would have imagined that each side considered it as a dispute which must have determined, whether the nation should enjoy its ancient liberty, or tamely submit to the fetters of corruption. Noblemen and gentlemen, clergymen and ladies, employed all their talents and industry in canvassing for either side, throughout every township and village in the county. Scandal emptied her whole quiver of insinuation, calumny, and lampoon; corruption was not remiss in promises and presents; houses of entertainment were opened; and nothing was for some time to be seen but scenes of tumult, riot, and intoxication. The revenue of many an independent Prince on the continent would not have been sufficient to afford such sums of money as were expended in the course of this dispute. At length they proceeded to election, and the sheriff made a double return of all the four candidates, so that not one of them could sit, and the county remained without a representative until this ambiguous affair could be decided in the House of Commons. About the middle of November petitions being presented by the four candidates, as well as by the gentlemen, clergy, and other freeholders of the county, complaining of an undue election, and

double return, the matter of these petitions was heard at the bar of the House on the third day of December. The counsel for Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood alledged, that they had the majority of votes upon the poll, and this circumstance was admitted by the counsel on the other side; then they proceeded to prove by evidence, that, after closing the poll, the sheriff declared the majority of votes to be in favour of these two candidates, and adjourned the court from the twenty-third day of April to the eighth of May; so that the scrutiny demanded, and granted on the behalf of Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner could not be discussed before the last day of the month, when the writ was returnable; that the scrutiny did not begin till the ninth day of May, when the time was protracted by disputes about the manner in which it should be carried on; that Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were allowed to object, through the whole poll, to the votes on the other side, on pretence that their competitors should be permitted to answer these objections, and, in their turn, object through the whole poll to the voters for Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, who should, in the last place, have leave to answer: that Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood had disapproved of this method, because they apprehended it might induce their competitors to make such a number of frivolous objections, that they should not have time to answer one half of them, much less to make objections of their own before the writ should be returned: that they foresaw such a number of frivolous objections were made, as engrossed the attention of the court till the twenty-seventh day of May; so that they could not begin to answer any of these objections till the twenty-eighth; and on the thirtieth the sheriff, having closed the scrutiny, made the double return. The proof being exhibited, the counsel insisted, that, as they had established a majority

BOOK III. 1754. jority on the poll, and demonstrated that this majority neither was nor could be overthrown by such an unfinished scrutiny, it was incumbent on the other side to proceed upon the merits of the election, by endeavouring to overthrow that majority of which their clients were in possession. A question in the House being carried to the same purpose, Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood objected to five hundred and thirty voters on the other side, whom they proposed to disqualify. Their counsel examined several witnesses, to prove the partiality of the sheriff in favour of Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner, and to detect these candidates, in the practice of bribery; for which purpose they produced a letter in their own hand-writing. They afterwards proceeded to disqualify particular voters, and summed up their evidence on the twenty-first day of

An. 1755. January. Then the counsel for the other side began to refute the charge of partiality and corruption; and to answer the objections that had been made to particular voters. They produced evidence to prove, that customary freeholds, or customary holdings, had voted at elections in the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, Gloucester, Wells, and Hereford; and that the customary tenants of the manor of Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, had been reputed capable of voting, and even voted at elections for that county. In a word, they continued to examine evidences, argue and refute, prove and disprove, until the twenty-third day of April, when, after some warm debates and divisions in the House, Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were declared duly elected; and the clerk of the crown was ordered to amend the return, by erasing the names of Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood. Many, who presumed to think for themselves, without recollecting the power and influence of the administration, were astonished at the issue of this dispute; which, however, might have easily been foreseen; inasmuch,

as,

as, during the course of the proceedings most, if not all, of the many questions debated in the House were determined by a great majority in favour of the new interest. A great number of copy-holders had been admitted to vote at this election, and the sheriff incurred no censure for allowing them to take the oath appointed by law to be taken by freeholders: nevertheless, the Commons carefully avoided determining the question, Whether copy-holders possessed of the yearly value of forty shillings, clear of all deductions, have not a right to vote for knights to represent the shire within which their copy-hold estates are situated? This point being left doubtful by the legislature, puts it often in the power of the sheriff to return which of the candidates he pleases to support; for if the majority of the voting copy-holders adheres to the interest of his favourites, he will admit their votes both on the poll and the scrutiny; whereas, should they be otherwise disposed, he will reject them as unqualified. What effect this practice may have upon the independency of Parliament every person must perceive who reflects, that in almost all the counties of England the High Sheriffs are annually appointed by the minister for the time being.

§ XLV. The attention of the legislature was chiefly turned upon the conduct of France, which preserved no medium, but seemed intent upon striking some important blow, that might serve as a declaration of war. At Brest, and other ports in that kingdom, the French were employed in equipping a powerful armament, and made no scruple to own it was intended for North-America. Towards the latter end of March Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State, brought a message from the King to the Parliament, intimating, that his Majesty having at the beginning of the session declared his principal object was to preserve the publick tranquillity, and at the same time to protect those possessions which

BOOK III. 1755.

which constitute one great source of the commerce and wealth of his kingdoms, he now found it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons, that the present situation of affairs made it requisite to augment his forces by sea and land, and to take such other measures as might best tend to preserve the general peace of Europe, and to secure the just rights and possessions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attempts whatsoever that might be made to support or countenance any designs which should be formed against his Majesty and his kingdoms; and his Majesty doubted not but his faithful Commons, on whose affection and zeal he entirely relied, would enable him to make such augmentations, and to take such measures for supporting the honour of his crown, and the true interest of his people, and for the security of his dominions in the present critical conjuncture, as the exigency of affairs might require; in doing which his Majesty would have as much regard to the ease of his good subjects as should be consistent with their safety and welfare. In answer to this message a very warm and affectionate address was presented to his Majesty; and it was on this occasion that the million was granted for augmenting his forces by sea and land *. The Court of Versailles, notwithstanding the assiduity and dispatch which they were exerting in equipping armaments, and embarking troops, for the support of their ambitious schemes in America,

* The ministry having resolved to send a body of forces to America, to act in conjunction with the provincial troops raised on that continent, it became necessary that the mutiny act should be rendered more clear and extensive. When this bill, therefore, fell under consideration, it was improved with a new clause, providing, "That all "officers and soldiers of any troops being mustered and in pay, which "are or shall be raised in any of the British provinces in America, by "authority of the respective governors or governments thereof, shall, "at all times, and in all places, when they happen to join or act in "conjunction with his Majesty's British forces, be liable to martial "law and discipline, in like manner, to all intents and purposes, as "the British forces are; and shall be subject to the same trial, pe-"nalties, and punishment."

still

ſtill continued to amuſe the Britiſh miniſtry with general declarations, that no hoſtility was intended, nor the leaſt infringement of the treaty.

§ XLVI. The Earl of Albemarle, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Paris, having lately died in that city, theſe aſſurances were communicated to the Court of London by the Marquis de Mirepoix, who reſided in England with the ſame character, which he had ſupported ſince his firſt arrival with equal honour and politeneſs. On this occaſion he himſelf was ſo far impoſed upon by the inſtructions he had received, that he believed the profeſſions of his court were ſincere, and ſeriouſly endeavoured to prevent a rupture between the two nations. At length, however, their preparations were ſo notorious that he began to ſuſpect the conſequence; and the Engliſh miniſtry produced ſuch proofs of their inſincerity and double dealing, that he ſeemed to be ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and chagrin. He repaired to France, and upbraided the miniſtry of Verſailles for having made him the tool of their diſſimulation. They referred him to the King, who ordered him to return to London, with freſh aſſurances of his pacifick intentions: but his practice agreed ſo ill with his profeſſions, that the Ambaſſador had ſcarce obtained an audience to communicate them, when undoubted intelligence arrived, that a powerful armament was ready to ſail from Breſt and Rochefort. The government of Great-Britain, rouſed by this information, immediately took the moſt expeditious methods for equipping a ſquadron; and towards the latter end of April, Admiral Boſcawen ſailed with eleven ſhips of the line and one frigate, having on board a conſiderable number of land-forces, to attend the motions of the enemy: but more certain and particular intelligence arriving ſoon after, touching the ſtrength of the French fleet, which conſiſted of twenty-five ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, with a great quantity of warlike ſtores,

BOOK III. 1755.

and four thousand regular troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau, Admiral Holbourne was detached with six ships of the line, and one frigate, to reinforce Mr. Boscawen; and a great number of capital ships were put in commission. In the beginning of May the French fleet, commanded by Mr. Macnamara, an officer of Irish extraction, sailed from Brest, directing his course to North-America; but, after having proceeded beyond the chops of the the English channel, he returned with nine of the capital ships, while the rest of the armament continued their course, under the direction of M. Bois de la Mothe.

§ XLVII. On the twenty-fifth day of April the King went to the House of Lords, where, after giving the Royal assent to the bills then depending; for granting a certain sum out of the sinking-fund, for the relief of insolvent debtors, for the better regulation of marine forces on shore, for the better raising of marines and seamen, and to several other publick and private bills: his Majesty put an end to the session of Parliament by a speech, in which he acquainted the two Houses, That the zeal they had shown for supporting the honour, rights, and possessions of his crown, had afforded him the greatest satisfaction: That his desire to preserve the publick tranquillity had been sincere and uniform: That he had religiously adhered to the stipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and made it his care not to injure or offend any power whatsoever; but that he never could entertain a thought of purchasing the name of peace at the expence of suffering encroachments upon, or of yielding up, what justly belonged to Great-Britain, either by ancient possession or by solemn treaties: That the vigour and firmness of his Parliament, on this important occasion, had enabled him to be prepared for such contingencies as might happen: That, if reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation could

could be agreed upon, he would be satisfied, and, at all events, rely on the justice of his cause, the effectual support of his people, and the protection of Divine Providence. The Parliament was then prorogued to the twenty-seventh of May. CHAP. III. 1755.

CHAP. IV.

§ I. *Preparations for war.* § II. *Earl Paulet's motion against the King's going to Hanover.* § III. *Regency appointed during his Majesty's absence.* § IV. *Boscawen's expedition. Alcide and Rys taken.* § V. *French Ambassador recalled.* § VI. *Their trade greatly distressed.* § VII. *Affairs of the English in America. Col. Monckton takes Beau-sejour.* § VIII. *General Braddock's unfortunate expedition.* § IX. *He falls into an ambuscade; is defeated, and killed.* § X. *Disagreement between the Governor and Assembly of Pennsylvania.* § XI. *Expedition against Crown-Point and Niagara resolved on.* § XII. *Gen. Johnson encamps at Lake George.* § XIII. *Where he is attacked by the French, who are entirely defeated.* § XIV. *Bravery of Captain M'Ginnes.* § XV. *Gen. Johnson created a Baronet.* § XVI. *Description of Fort Oswego and Lake Ontario.* § XVII. *Neglect of the English, in not fortifying it.* § XVIII. *Expedition against Niagara.* § XIX. *Gen. Shirley returns to Albany. End of the campaign in America.* § XX. *Fruitless intrigues of the French in Spain and Germany.* § XXI. *Treaty of the King of Great-Britain with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.* § XXII. *News of the capture of the Alcide and Lys reaches England.* § XXIII. *The King returns from Hanover, and concludes a treaty with Russia.* § XXIV. *Declaration of the French ministry at the Court of Vienna.* § XXV. *Spirited declaration of the King of Prussia.* § XXVI. *The French make another unsuccessful attempt upon the Court of Spain.* § XXVII. *The Imperial Court refuses auxiliaries to England.* § XXVIII. *The French take the Blandford man of war, but return it.* § XXIX. *State of the English and French natives.* § XXX. *Session opened.* § XXXI. *Remarkable addresses of the Lords and Commons.* § XXXII. *His*

His Majesty's anſwer. § XXXIII. *Alterations in the miniſtry. Mr. Fox made Secretary of State.* § XXXIV. *Supplies voted.* § XXXV. *Earthquake at Liſbon.* § XXXVI. *Relief voted by Parliament to the Portugueſe.* § XXXVII. *Troops, &c. voted.* § XXXVIII. *Mutiny bill, marine, and mariners acts continued.* § XXXIX. *Act for raiſing a regiment of foot in North-America.* § XL. *Maritime laws of England extended to America.* § XLI. *Quiet of Ireland reſtored.* § XLII. *Treaty concluded with Pruſſia.* § XLIII. *New militia bill paſſed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords.* § XLIV. *Seſſion cloſed.*

CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ I. WHILST all Europe was in ſuſpence about the fate of the Engliſh and French ſquadrons, preparations for a vigorous ſea war were going forward in England with an unparalleled ſpirit and ſucceſs. Still the French Court flattered itſelf that Great-Britain, out of tenderneſs to his Majeſty's German dominions, would abſtain from hoſtilities. Mirepoix continued to have frequent conferences with the Britiſh miniſtry, who made no ſecret that their Admirals, particularly Boſcawen, had orders to attack the French ſhips wherever they ſhould meet them; on the other hand, Monſ. de Mirepoix declared, That his maſter would conſider the firſt gun fired at ſea in an hoſtile manner as a declaration of war. This menace, far from intimidating the Engliſh, animated them to redouble their preparations for war. The preſs for ſeamen was carried on with extraordinary vigour in all parts of this kingdom, as well as in Ireland; and great premiums were given not only by the government, but alſo, over and above his Majeſty's bounty, by almoſt all the conſiderable cities and towns in England, to ſuch as ſhould inliſt voluntarily for ſailors or ſoldiers. Other branches of the publick ſervice went on with equal alacrity: and ſuch was the eagerneſs of the

 people

BOOK III. 1755. people to lend their money to the government, that inſtead of one million, which was to be raiſed by way of lottery, three millions eight hundred and eighty thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed immediately.

§ II. The ſituation of affairs requiring his Majeſty to go to Germany this ſummer, great apprehenſions aroſe in the minds of many, leſt the French ſhould either intercept him in his journey, or prevent his return. Earl Paulet had made a motion in the Houſe of Lords, humbly to repreſent to his Majeſty, "That it was an article in the original act of ſettlement by which the ſucceſſion of theſe kingdoms devolved to his electoral houſe, that the King ſhould not go to his foreign dominions without the conſent of Parliament; and that this was a principal article in the compact between the crown and the people: That though this article was repealed in the late reign, yet, till of late, it had always been the cuſtom for his Majeſty to acquaint the Parliament with his intended departure to his German dominions, both in regard to the true ſenſe and ſpirit of the act that placed him on the throne, as well as for the paternal kindneſs of his royal heart, and the condeſcenſion he had been ſo good to ſhow to his Parliament on all occaſions; but that his Majeſty's declaration of his deſign to viſit his electoral eſtates had always come on the laſt day of a ſeſſion, when it was too late for the great conſtitutional council of the crown to offer ſuch advice as might otherwiſe have been expedient and neceſſary: That his Majeſty's leaving his kingdoms in a conjuncture ſo pregnant with diſtreſs, ſo denunciative of danger, would not only give the greateſt advantage to ſuch as might be diſpoſed to ſtir up diſaffection and diſcontent, and to the conſtitutional and national enemies of England; but would alſo fill his loyal ſubjects with the moſt affecting concern, and moſt gloomy fears, as well for their own ſafety, as for that of

of their Sovereign, whoſe invaluable life, at all times of the utmoſt conſequence to his people, was then infinitely ſo, by reaſon of his great experience, the affection of every one to his royal perſon, and the minority of the heir apparent." Such was the purport of this motion; but it was not ſeconded by any of the other lords.

§ III. The general uneaſineſs, on account of his Majeſty's departure, was greatly increaſed by an apprehenſion that there would, during his abſence, be no good agreement amongſt the Regency, which conſiſted of the following perſons: his Royal Highneſs William Duke of Cumberland; Thomas Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Philip Earl of Hardwick, Lord High Chancellor; John Earl of Granville, Preſident of the Council; Charles Duke of Marlborough, Lord Privy-Seal; John Duke of Rutland, Steward of the Houſhold; Charles Duke of Grafton, Lord-Chamberlain; Archibald Duke of Argyle; the Duke of Newcaſtle, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; the Duke of Dorſet, Maſter of the Horſe; the Earl of Holderneſſe, one of the Secretaries of State; the Earl of Rochford, Groom of the Stole; the Marquis of Hartington, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord Anſon, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; Sir Thomas Robinſon, Secretary of State; and Henry Fox, Eſq. Secretary at War. His Majeſty ſet out from St. James's on the twenty-eighth of April early in the morning, embarked at Harwich in the afternoon, landed the next day at Helvoetſluys, and arrived at Hanover on the ſecond of May.

§ IV. Admiral Boſcawen with eleven ſhips of the line and a frigate, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, ſailed from thence on the twenty-ſeventh of April for the banks of Newfoundland, and in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Breſt came to the ſame ſtation, under the command of E. Bois de la Mothe. But the

BOOK III. 1755. the thick fogs which prevail upon these coasts, especially at that time of the year, kept the two armaments from seeing each other; and part of the French squadron escaped up the river St. Lawrence, whilst another part of them went round, and got into the same river through the straits of Belleisle, by a way which was never known to be attempted before by ships of the line. However, whilst the English fleet lay off Cape Race, which is the southernmost point of Newfoundland, and was thought to be the most proper situation for intercepting the enemy, two French ships, the Alcide, of sixty-four guns, and four hundred and eighty men, and the Lys pierced for fifty-four guns, but mounting only twenty-two, having eight companies of land-forces on board, being separated from the rest of their fleet in the fog, fell in with the Dunkirk, Captain Howe, and the Defiance, Captain Andrews, two sixty gun ships of the English squadron; and after a smart engagement, which lasted some hours, and in which Captain (afterwards Lord) Howe behaved with the greatest skill and intrepidity, were both taken, with several considerable officers and engineers, and about eight thousand pounds in money. Though the capture of these ships, from which the commencement of the war may in fact be dated, fell greatly short of what was hoped for from this expedition; yet, when the news of it reached England, it was of infinite service to the publick credit of every kind, and animated the whole nation, who now saw plainly that the government was determined to keep no further measures with the French, but justly to repel force by force, and put a stop to their sending more men and arms to invade the property of the English in America, as they had hitherto done with impunity. The French, who, for some time, did not even attempt to make reprisals on our shipping, would gladly have chosen to avoid a war at that time, and to have continued extending their en-

croachments on our settlements, till they had executed their grand plan of securing a communication from the Mississippi to Canada, by a line of forts, many of which they had already erected. CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ V. Upon the arrival of the news of this action at Paris, the French Ambassador, M. de Mirepoix was recalled from London, and M. de Bussy from Hanover, where he had just arrived, to attend the King of England in a publick character. They complained loudly of Boscawen's attacking the ships, as a breach of national faith: but it was justly retorted on the part of England, that their encroachments in America had rendered reprisals both justifiable and necessary. The resolution of making them was the effect of mature deliberation in the English council. The vast increase of the French marine of late years, which in all probability would soon be employed against Great-Britain, occasioned an order for making reprisals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be stopped, and brought into British ports. To give the greater weight to these orders, it was resolved to send out those Admirals who had distinguished themselves most towards the end of the last war. Accordingly on the twenty-first of July, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruise to the westward, with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop; but, not meeting with the French fleet, these ships returned to England about the latter end of September and the beginning of October; on the fourteenth of which last month another fleet consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, two frigates and two sloops, sailed again on a cruise to the westward under Admiral Byng, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron under Duguay, and likewise that commanded by La Mothe, in case of its return from America. But this fleet likewise returned to Spithead on the twenty-second of November, without having been able to effect

BOOK III. 1755.

effect any thing, though it was allowed by all, that the Admiral had acted judiciously in the choice of his stations.

§ VI. While these measures were pursued, for the general security of the British coasts and trade in Europe, several new ships of war were begun, and finished with the utmost expedition, in his Majesty's docks: twelve frigates and sloops, contracted for in private yards were compleated by the month of August; and twenty-four ships and twelve colliers were then taken into the service of the government, to be fitted out as vessels of war, to carry twenty guns and one hundred and twenty men each. In the mean time the French trade was so annoyed by the English cruisers, that before the end of this year three hundred of their merchant ships, many of which, from St. Domingo and Martinico, were extremely rich, and eight thousand of their sailors, were brought into English ports. By these captures the British ministry answered many purposes: they deprived the French of a great body of seamen, and with-held from them a very large property, the want of which greatly distressed their people, and ruined many of their traders. Their outward-bound merchant ships were insured at the rate of thirty per cent. whilst the English paid no more than the common insurance. This intolerable burthen was felt by all degrees of people amongst them: their ministry was publickly reviled, even by their Parliaments: and the French name, from being the terror, began to be the contempt of Europe. Their uneasiness was also not a little heightened by new broils between their King and the Parliament of Paris, occasioned by the obstinacy of the clergy of that kingdom, who seemed determined to support the church, in all events, against the secular tribunals, and as much as possible, to enforce the observance of the bull Unigenitus, which had long

 been

been the occaſion of ſo many diſputes among them. However, the Parliament continuing firm, and the French King approving of its conduct, the eccleſiaſticks thought proper to ſubmit for the preſent; and in their general aſſembly this year, granted him a free gift of ſixteen millions of livres, which he demanded of them—a greater ſum than they had ever given before, even in time of war.

§ VII. In the beginning of this year the aſſembly of Maſſachuſſett's Bay in New-England paſſed an act, prohibiting all correſpondence with the French at Louiſbourg; and early in the ſpring they raiſed a body of troops, which was tranſported to Nova-Scotia, to aſſiſt Lieutenant-Governor Laurence in driving the French from the encroachments they had made upon that province. Accordingly, towards the end of May, the Governor ſent a large detachment of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, upon this ſervice; and three frigates and a ſloop were diſpatched up the bay of Fundy, under the command of Captain Rous, to give their aſſiſtance by ſea. The troops, upon their arrival at the river Maſſaguaſh, found the paſſage ſtopped by a large number of regular forces, rebel neutrals, or Acadians, and Indians, four hundred and fifty of whom occupied a block-houſe, with cannon mounted on their ſide of the river; and the reſt were poſted within a ſtrong breaſt-work of timber, thrown up by way of outwork to the block-houſe. The Engliſh provincials attacked this place with ſuch ſpirit, that the enemy were obliged to fly, and leave them in poſſeſſion of the breaſt-work: then the garriſon in the block-houſe deſerted it, and left the paſſage of the river free. From thence Colonel Monckton advanced to the French fort of Beauſejour, which he inveſted, as far at leaſt as the ſmall number of his troops would permit, on the twelfth of June; and after four days' bombardment obliged it to ſurrender, though the French had twenty-ſix pieces

BOOK III. 1755.

pieces of cannon mounted, and plenty of ammunition, and the English had not yet placed a single cannon upon their batteries. The garrison was sent to Louisbourg, on condition of not bearing arms in America for the space of six months; and the Acadians, who had joined the French, were pardoned, in consideration of their having been forced into that service. Colonel Monckton, after putting a garrison into this place, and changing its name to that of Cumberland, the next day attacked and reduced the other French fort upon the river Gaspereau which runs into Bay Verte; where he likewise found a large quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds, that being the chief magazine for supplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries. He then disarmed these last, to the number of fifteen thousand; and in the mean time, Captain Rous with his ships sailed to the mouth of the river St. John, to attack the new fort the French had erected there; but they saved him that trouble, by abandoning it upon his appearance, after having burst their cannon, blown up their magazine, and destroyed, as far as they had time, all the works they had lately raised. The English had but twenty men killed, and about the same number wounded, in the whole of this expedition, the success of which secured the tranquillity of Nova-Scotia.

§ VII. While the New-Englanders were thus employed in reducing the French in Nova-Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them upon the Ohio. A fort was built, which was likewise called Fort-Cumberland, and a camp formed at Wills's-Creek. On the fourteenth of January of this year, Major-General Braddock, with Colonel Dunbar's and Colonel Halket's regiments of foot, sailed from Cork, in Ireland, for Virginia, where they all landed safe before the end of February. This General might consequently have entered upon action early

early in the ſpring, had he not been unfortunately delayed by the Virginian contractors for the army, who, when he was ready to march, had neither provided a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for his troops, nor a competent number of carriages for his army. This accident was foreſeen by almoſt every perſon who knew any thing of our plantations upon the continent of America: for the people of Virginia, who think of no produce but their tobacco, and do not raiſe corn enough even for their own ſubſiſtence, being, by the nature of their country, well provided with the conveniency of water conveyance, have but few wheel carriages, or beaſts of burthen; whereas Pennſylvania, which abounds in corn, and moſt other ſorts of proviſions, has but little water-carriage, eſpecially in its weſtern ſettlements, where its inhabitants have great numbers of carts, waggons, and horſes. Mr. Braddock ſhould, therefore, certainly, in point of prudence, have landed in Pennſylvania: the contract for ſupplying his troops ſhould have been made with ſome of the chief planters there, who could eaſily have performed their engagements: and if his camp had been formed near Frank's-town or ſomewhere upon the ſouth-weſt borders of that province, he would not have had eighty miles to march from thence to Fort Du Queſne, inſtead of an hundred and thirty miles that he had to advance from Wills's-Creek, where he did encamp, through roads neither better nor more practicable than the other would have been. This error, in the very beginning of the expedition, whether owing to an injudicious preference fondly given to the Virginians in the lucrative job of ſupplying theſe troops, or to any other cauſe, delayed the march of the army for ſome weeks, during which it was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for neceſſaries of all kinds; and would probably have defeated the expedition entirely for that ſummer, had not the contractors found means to procure ſome aſſiſtance from the back ſettlements of

BOOK III. 1755.

of Pennſylvania. But even when theſe ſupplies did arrive, they conſiſted of only fifteen waggons, and an hundred draft horſes, inſtead of an hundred and fifty waggons and three hundred horſes, which the Virginian contractors had engaged to furniſh, and the proviſions were ſo bad that they could not be uſed. However, ſome gentlemen in Pennſylvania, being applied to in this exigency, amply made up for theſe deficiences, and the troops were by this means ſupplied with every thing they wanted. Another, and ſtill more fatal error was committed in the choice of the Commander for this expedition. Major-General Braddock, who was appointed to it, was undoubtedly a man of courage, and expert in all the punctilios of a review, having been brought up in the Engliſh guards; but he was naturally very haughty, poſitive, and difficult of acceſs; qualities ill ſuited to the temper of the people amongſt whom he was to command. His extreme ſeverity in matters of diſcipline had rendered him unpopular among the ſoldiers; and the ſtrict military education in which he had been trained from his youth, and which he prided himſelf on ſcrupulouſly following, made him hold the American militia in great contempt, becauſe they could not go through their exerciſe with the ſame dexterity and regularity as a regiment of guards in Hyde-Park, little knowing, or indeed being able to form any idea of the difference between the European manner of fighting, and an American expedition through woods, deſerts, and moraſſes. Before he left England, he received, in the handwriting of Colonel Napier, a ſet of inſtructions from the Duke of Cumberland. By theſe, the attempt upon Niagara was, in a great meaſure, referred to him, and the reduction of Crown-Point was to be left chiefly to the provincial forces. But above all, his Royal Highneſs, both verbally and in this writing, frequently cautioned him carefully to beware of an ambuſh or ſurprize. Inſtead of regarding this

ſalutary

ſalutary caution, his conceit of his own abilities made him diſdain to aſk the opinion of any under his command; and the Indians, who would have been his ſafeſt guards againſt this danger in particular, were ſo diſguſted by the haughtineſs of his behaviour, that moſt of them forſook his banners. Under theſe diſadvantages he began his march from Fort-Cumberland on the tenth of June, at the head of about two thouſand two hundred men, for the Meadows, where Colonel Waſhington was defeated the year before. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the French at Fort du Queſne, which had lately been built on the ſame river, near its confluence with the Monangahela, expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops: therefore, that he might march with a greater diſpatch, he left Colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the proviſions, ſtores, and heavy baggage, as faſt as the nature of the ſervice would permit; and with the other twelve hundred, together with ten pieces of cannon, and the neceſſary ammunition, and proviſions, he marched on with ſo much expedition, that he ſeldom took any time to reconnoitre the woods or thickets he was to paſs through; as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the farther he was removed from danger.

§ IX. On the eighth of July, he encamped within ten miles of Fort du Queſne. Though Colonel Dunbar was then near forty miles behind him, and his officers, particularly Sir Peter Halket, earneſtly entreated him to proceed with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians who were with him, by way of advanced guard, in caſe of ambuſcades; yet he reſumed his march the next day, without ſo much as endeavouring to obtain any intelligence of the ſituation or diſpoſition of the enemy, or even ſending out any ſcouts to viſit the woods and thickets on both ſides of him, as well as in front. With this careleſſneſs he was advancing, when, about noon, he was

BOOK III. 1755.

was saluted with a general fire upon his front, and all along his left flank, from an enemy so artfully concealed behind the trees and bushes, that not a man of them could be seen. The vanguard immediately fell back upon the main body, and in an instant the panick and confusion became general; so that most of the troops fled with great precipitation, notwithstanding all that their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, could do to stop their career. As to Braddock himself, instead of scouring the thickets and bushes from whence the fire came, with grape shot from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, or ordering flanking parties of his Indians to advance against the enemy, he obstinately remained upon the spot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave officers and men who staid with him, to form regularly, and advance. Meanwhile his men fell thick about him, and almost all his officers were singled out, one after another, and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take aim when they fire, and aim chiefly at the officers, distinguished them by their dress. At last, the General, whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, after having had some horses shot under him, received a musket shot through the right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, having been carried off the field by the bravery of Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, and another of his officers. When he dropped, the confusion of the few that remained turned it into a downright and very disorderly flight across a river which they had just passed, though no enemy appeared, or attempted to attack them. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left to the enemy, and, among the rest, the General's cabinet, with all his letters and instructions, which the French Court afterwards made great use of in their printed memorials or manifestoes. The loss of the English in this unhappy affair amounted to seven hundred men. Their officers, in particular, suffered much more

than

than in the ordinary proportion of battles in Europe. Sir Peter Halket fell by the very firſt fire, at the head of his regiment; and the General's Secretary, ſon to Governor Shirley, was killed ſoon after. Neither the number of men which the enemy had in this engagement, nor the loſs which they ſuſtained, could be ſo much as gueſſed at: but the French afterwards gave out, that their number did not, in the whole, exceed four hundred men, moſtly Indians; and that their loſs was quite inconſiderable, as it probably was, becauſe they lay concealed in ſuch a manner that the Engliſh knew not whither to point their muſkets. The panick of theſe laſt continued ſo long, that they never ſtopped till they met the rear diviſion; and even then they infected thoſe troops with their terrors; ſo that the army retreated without ſtopping, till they reached Fort-Cumberland, though the enemy did not ſo much as attempt to purſue, nor ever appeared in ſight, either in the battle, or after the defeat. On the whole, this was perhaps the moſt extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the fartheſt flight that ever was made.

CHAP. IV. 1755.

§ X. Had the ſhattered remains of this army continued at Fort-Cumberland, and fortified themſelves there, as they might eaſily have done, during the reſt of the ſummer, they would have been ſuch a check upon the French and their ſcalping Indians, as would have prevented many of thoſe ravages that were committed in the enſuing winter upon the weſtern borders of Virginia and Pennſylvania; but, inſtead of taking that prudent ſtep, their Commander left only the ſick and wounded at that fort, under the protection of two companies of the provincial militia, poſted there by way of garriſon, and began his march on the ſecond of Auguſt, with about ſixteen hundred men, from Philadelphia; where thoſe troops could be of no immediate ſervice. From thence they were ordered away to Albany, in New-

BOOK III. 1755. York, by General Shirley, on whom the chief command of the troops in America had devolved by the death of Major-General Braddock. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, were by theſe means left entirely to take care of themſelves, which they might have done effectually, had they been united in their councils: but the uſual diſputes, between their Governors and Aſſemblies, defeated every ſalutary plan that was propoſed. Pennſylvania, the moſt powerful of the three, was rendered quite impotent, either for its own defence, or that of its neighbours, by theſe unhappy conteſts; though, at laſt, the Aſſembly of that province, ſenſible of the danger to which they were expoſed, and ſeeing the abſolute neceſſity of providing a ſtanding military force, and of erecting ſome forts to defend their weſtern frontier, paſſed a bill for raiſing fifty thouſand pounds. But even this ſum, ſmall as it was, even to a degree of ridicule, conſidering the richneſs of the province, and the extent of its frontier, could not be obtained; the Governor poſitively refuſing to give his aſſent to the act of the Aſſembly, becauſe they had taxed the proprietaries eſtates equally with thoſe of the inhabitants, which, he ſaid, he was ordered by his inſtructions, not to conſent to, nor indeed any new tax upon the proprietaries; and the Aſſembly, conſiſting chiefly of members whoſe eſtates lay in the eaſtern or interior parts of the province, as poſitively refuſing to alter their bill. One would be apt to think, that, in a caſe of ſuch urgent neceſſity, the Governor might have ventured to give his aſſent to the bill under a proteſt, that it ſhould not prejudice the rights of the proprietaries upon any future occaſion: but as he did not, the bill was dropped, and the province left defenceleſs: by which means it afterwards ſuffered ſeverely, to the deſtruction of many of the poor inhabitants upon the weſtern frontier, and to the impreſſing the Indians with a contemptible opinion

nion of the English, and the highst esteem of the French.

§ XI. Our colonies to the north of Pennsylvania were more active, and more successful in their preparations for war. New-York, following the example of New-England, passed an act to prohibit the sending of provisions to any French port or settlement on the continent of North-America, or any of the adjacent islands; and also for raising forty-five thousand pounds, on estates real and personal, for the better defence of their colony, which lay more exposed than any other to a French invasion from Crown-Point. However, this sum, great as it might seem to them, was far from being sufficient; nor, indeed, could they have provided properly for their security, without the assistance of our other colonies to the east of them; but with their help, and the additional succour of the small body of regular troops expected under Colonel Dunbar, they boldly resolved upon offensive measures, which, when practicable, are always the safest; and two expeditions, one against the French fort at Crown-Point, and the other against their fort at Niagara, between the lakes Ontario and Erie, were set on foot at the same time. The former of these expeditions was appointed to be executed under the command of General Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohock river, in the western parts of New-York, where he had acquired a considerable estate, and was universally beloved, not only by the inhabitants but also by the neighbouring Indians whose language he had learnt, and whose affections he had gained by his humanity towards them. The expedition against Niagara was commanded by General Shirley himself.

§ XII. The rendezvous of the troops for both these expeditions was appointed to be at Albany, where most of them arrived before the end of June: but the artillery, batteaux, provisions, and other necessaries for the attempt upon Crown-Point, could not

BOOK III. 1755.

not be prepared till the eighth of Auguſt, when General Johnſon ſet out with them from Albany for the Carrying-place from Hudſon's river to Lake-George. There the troops had already arrived, under the command of Major-General Lyman, and conſiſted of between five and ſix thouſand men, beſides Indians, raiſed by the governments of Boſton, Connecticut, New-Hampſhire, Rhode-Iſland, and New-York. Every thing was then prepared as faſt as poſſible for a march; and towards the end of the month, General Johnſon advanced about fourteen miles forward with his troops, and encamped in a very ſtrong ſituation, covered on each ſide by a thick wooded ſwamp, by Lake-George in his rear, and by a breaſt-work of trees, cut down for that purpoſe, in his front. Here he reſolved to wait the arrival of his batteaux, and afterwards to proceed to Ticonderoga, at the other end of the lake, from whence it was but about fifteen miles to the fort at the ſouth end of Lake-Corlaer, or Champlain, called Fort-Frederick by the French, and by us Crown-Point. Whilſt he was thus encamped, ſome of his Indian ſcouts, of which he took care to ſend out numbers along both ſides, and to the farther end of Lake-George, brought him intelligence that a conſiderable number of the enemy were then on their march from Ticonderoga, by the way of the ſouth bay, towards the fortified encampment, ſince called Fort-Edward, which General Lyman had built at the Carrying-place; and in which four or five hundred of the New-Hampſhire and New-York men had been left as a garriſon. Upon this information General Johnſon ſent two expreſſes, one after the other, to Colonel Blanchard, their Commander, with orders to call in all his out-parties, and to keep his whole force within the entrenchments. About twelve o'clock at night, thoſe who had been ſent upon the ſecond expreſs returned with an account of their having ſeen the enemy within four miles of the camp

at

at the Carrying-place, which they ſcarcely doubted their having by that time attacked. Important as the defence of this place was for the ſafety of the whole army, and imminent as the danger ſeemed to be, it does not appear that the General then called any council of war, or reſolved upon any thing for its relief; but early the next morning he called a council, wherein it was unadviſedly reſolved to detach a thouſand men, with a number of Indians, to intercept, or, as the General's expreſſion was in his letter, to catch the enemy in their retreat, either as victors, or as defeated in their deſign. This expedient was reſolved on, though no one knew the number of the enemy, nor could obtain any information in that reſpect from the Indian ſcouts, becauſe the Indians have no words or ſigns for expreſſing any large number, which, when it exceeds their reckoning, they ſignify by pointing to the ſtars in the firmament, or to the hair of their head; and this they often do to denote a number leſs than a thouſand, as well as to ſignify ten thouſand, or any greater number.

§ XIII. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning a thouſand men, with two hundred Indians, were detached under the command of Colonel Williams: but they had not been gone two hours, when thoſe in the camp began to hear a cloſe firing, at about three or four miles diſtance, as they judged: as it approached nearer and nearer, they rightly ſuppoſed that the detachment was overpowered, and retreating towards the camp; which was ſoon confirmed by ſome fugitives, and preſently after by whole companies, who fled back in great confuſion. In a very ſhort time after, the enemy appeared marching in regular order up to the centre of the camp, where the conſternation was ſo great, that, if they had attacked the breaſt-work directly, they might probably have thrown all into confuſion, and obtained an eaſy victory; but, fortunately for the Engliſh, they halted for

BOOK III. 1755. for some time about an hundred and fifty yards distance, and from thence began their attack with platoon firing, too far off to do much hurt, especially against troops who were defended by a strong breast-work. On the contrary, this ineffectual fire served only to raise the spirits of these last, who, having prepared their artillery during the time that the French halted, began to play it so briskly upon the enemy, that the Canadians and Indians in their service fled immediately into the woods on each side of the camp, and there squatted under bushes, or skulked behind trees, from whence they continued firing with very little execution, most of their shot being intercepted by the brakes and thickets; for they never had the courage to advance to the verge of the wood. Baron Dieskau, who commanded the French, being thus left alone, with his regular troops, at the front of the camp, finding he could not make a close attack upon the centre with his small number of men, moved first to the left, and then to the right, at both which places he endeavoured to force a passage, but was repulsed, being unsupported by the irregulars. Instead of retreating, as he ought in prudence to have done, he still continued his platoon and bush-firing till four o'clock in the afternoon, during which time his regular troops suffered greatly by the fire from the camp, and were at last thrown into confusion; which was no sooner perceived by General Johnson's men, than they, without waiting for orders, leaped over their breast-work, attacked the enemy on all sides, and, after killing and taking a considerable number of them, entirely dispersed the rest. The French, whose numbers, at the beginning of this engagement, amounted to about two thousand men, including two hundred grenadiers, eight hundred Canadians, and the rest Indians of different nations, had between seven and eight hundred men killed, and thirty taken prisoners: among the latter was Baron Dieskau himself, whom

whom they found at a little diſtance from the field of battle, dangerouſly wounded, and leaning on the ſtump of a tree for his ſupport. The Engliſh loſt about two hundred men, and thoſe chiefly of the detachment under Colonel Williams; for they had very few either killed or wounded in the attack upon their camp, and not any of diſtinction, except Colonel Titcomb killed, and the General himſelf and Major Nichols wounded. Among the ſlain of the detachment, which would probably have been entirely cut off had not Lieutenant-Colonel Cole been ſent out from the camp with three hundred men, with which he ſtopped the enemy's purſuit, and covered the retreat of his friends, were Colonel Williams, Major Aſhley, ſix Captains, and ſeveral ſubalterns, beſides private men; and the Indians reckoned that they had loſt forty men, beſides the brave old Hendrick, the Mohock Sachem, or chief Captain.

§ XIV. When Baron Dieſkau ſet out from Ticonderoga, his deſign was only to ſurprize and cut off the entrenched camp, now called fort Edward, at the Carrying-place, where there were but four or five hundred men. If he had executed this ſcheme, our army would have been thrown into great difficulties; for it could neither have proceeded farther, nor have ſubſiſted where it was, and he might have found an opportunity to attack it with great advantage in its retreat. But when he was within four or five miles of that fort, his people were informed that there were ſeveral cannon there, and none at the camp; upon which they all deſired to be led on to this laſt, which he the more readily conſented to, as he himſelf had been told by an Engliſh priſoner, who had left this camp but a few days before, that it was quite defenceleſs, being without any lines, and deſtitute of cannon; which, in effect, was true at that time; for the cannon did not arrive, nor was the breaſt-work erected, till about two days before the engagement. To this miſinformation, there-

fore,

BOOK III. 1755. fore, muſt be imputed this ſtep, which would otherwiſe be inconſiſtent with the general character and abilities of Baron Dieſkau. A leſs juſtifiable error ſeems to have been committed by General Johnſon, in not detaching a party to purſue the enemy when they were defeated and fled. Perhaps he was prevented from ſo doing by the ill fate of the detachment he had ſent out in the morning under Colonel Williams. However that may be, his neglect, in this reſpect, had like to have been fatal the next day to a detachment ſent from Fort Edward, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty men of the New-Hampſhire regiment, under Captain M'Ginnes, as a reinforcement to the army at the camp. This party fell in with between three and four hundred men of Dieſkau's troops, near the ſpot where Colonel Williams had been defeated the day before; but M'Ginnes having timely notice by his ſcouts of the approach of an enemy, made ſuch a diſpoſition, that he not only repulſed the aſſailants, but defeated and entirely diſperſed them, with the loſs only of two men killed, eleven wounded, and five miſſing. He himſelf unfortunately died of the wounds he received in this engagement, a few days after he arrived at the camp with his party.

§ XV. It was now judged too late in the year to proceed to the attack of Crown-Point, as it would have been neceſſary, in that caſe, to build a ſtrong fort in the place where the camp then was, in order to ſecure a communication with Albany, from whence only the troops could expect to be reinforced, or ſupplied with freſh ſtores of ammunition or proviſions. They, therefore, ſet out upon their return ſoon after this engagement, having firſt erected a little ſtockaded fort, at the hither end of Lake George, in which they left a ſmall garriſon, as a future prey for the enemy: a misfortune which might eaſily have been foreſeen, becauſe this whole army, being country militia, was to be diſbanded, and

return

return to their refpective homes, as they actually did foon after their retreat to Albany. This was all the glory, this all the advantage, that the English nation acquired by fuch an expenfive expedition. But fo little had the Englifh been accuftomed of late to hear of victory, that they rejoiced at this advantage, as if it had been an action of the greateft confequence. The General was highly applauded for his conduct, and liberally rewarded; for he was created a baronet by his Majefty, and prefented with five thoufand pounds by the Parliament.

§ XVI. The preparations for General Shirley's expedition againft Niagara, were not only deficient, but fhamefully flow; though it was well known that even the poffibility of his fuccefs muft, in in a great meafure, depend upon his fetting out early in the year, as will appear to any perfon who confiders the fituation of our fort at Ofwego, this being the only way by which he could proceed to Niagara. Ofwego lies on the fouth-eaft fide of the lake Ontario, near three hundred miles almoft due-weft from Albany in New-York. The way to it from thence, though long and tedious, is the more convenient, as the far greateft part of it admits of water-carriage, by what the inhabitants called batteaux, which are a kind of light flat-bottomed boats, wideft in the middle, and pointed at each end, of about fifteen hundred weight burden, and managed by two men, called batteau men, with paddles and fetting poles, the rivers being in many places too narrow to admit of oars. From Albany to the village of Shenactady, about fixteen miles, is a good waggon-road. From thence to the little Falls in the Mohock-river, being fixty-five miles, the paffage is by water-carriage up that river, and confequently againft the ftream, which in many places is fomewhat rapid, and in others fo fhallow, that, when the river is low, the watermen are obliged to get out, and draw their batteaux over the rifts. At the little Falls

BOOK III. 1755.

Falls is a poſtage, or land carriage, for about a mile, over a ground ſo marſhy, that it will not bear any wheel carriage: but a colony of Germans ſettled there, attend with ſledges, on which they draw the loaded batteaux to the next place of embarkation upon the ſame river. From thence they proceed by water up that river, for fifty miles, to the Carrying-place, near the head of it, where there is another poſtage, the length of which depends upon the dryneſs or wetneſs of the ſeaſon, but is generally above ſix or eight miles over in the ſummer months. Here the batteaux are again carried upon ſledges, till they come to a narrow river called Wood's Creek, down which they are wafted on a gentle ſtream, for about forty miles, into the lake Oneyada, which ſtretches from eaſt to weſt about thirty miles, and is paſſed with great eaſe and ſafety in calm weather. At the weſtern end of the lake is the river Onondaga, which, after a courſe of between twenty and thirty miles, unites with the river Cayuga, or Seneca, and their united ſtreams run into the lake Ontario, at the place where Oſwego fort is ſituated. But this river is ſo rapid as to be ſometimes dangerous, beſides its being full of rifts and rocks: and about twelve miles on this ſide of Oſwego there is a fall of eleven feet perpendicular, where there is conſequently a poſtage, which, however, does not exceed forty yards. From thence the paſſage is eaſy, quite to Oſwego. The lake Ontario, on which this fort ſtands, is near two hundred and eighty leagues in circumference: its figure is oval, and its depth runs from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. On the north ſide of it are ſeveral little gulfs. There is a communication between this lake and that of the Hurons by the river Tanaſuate, from whence it is a land carriage of ſix or eight leagues to the river Toronto, which falls into it. The French have two forts of conſequence on this lake; Frontenac, which commands the river St. Lawrence, where the lake com-

municates with it; and Niagara, which commands the communication between the lake Ontario and the lake Erie. But of these forts, and this last lake, which is one of the finest in the world, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. CHAP. IV. 1755.

XVII. Though we had long been in possession of fort Oswego, and though it lay greatly exposed to the French, particularly to those of Canada, upon any rupture between the two nations, we had never taken care to render it tolerably defensible, or even to build a single vessel fit for navigating the lake: nor was this strange neglect ever taken effectual notice of, till the beginning of this year, when, at a meeting which General Braddock had in April with the Governors and chief gentlemen of several of our colonies at Alexandria, in Virginia, it was resolved to strengthen both the fort and garrison at Oswego, and to build some large vessels at that place. Accordingly a number of shipwrights and workmen were sent thither in May and June. At the same time Captain Bradstreet marched thither with two companies of an hundred men each, to reinforce the hundred that were there before under Captain King, to which number the garrison had been increased since our contests with France began to grow serious. For a long time before, not above twenty-five men were left to defend this post, which from its great importance, and the situation of affairs at this juncture, most certainly required a much stronger garrison than was put into it even at this juncture: but œconomy was the chief thing consulted in the beginning of this war, and to that in a great measure was owing its long duration.

§ XVIII. From the above description of the passage from Albany to Oswego, it is plain how necessary it was that the troops intended for this expedition should have set out early in the spring. But instead of that, the very first of them, Colonel Schuyler's New-Jersey regiment, did not begin their march till after the beginning of July, and just as

Shirley's

BOOK III. 1755. Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments were preparing to follow, the melancholy account of Braddock's disaster arrived at Albany, where it ſo damped the ſpirits of the people, and ſpread ſuch a terror, that many of the troops deſerted, and moſt of the batteau men diſperſed, and ran home, by which means even all the neceſſary ſtores could not be carried along with the troops. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, General Shirley ſet out from Albany before the end of July, with as many of the troops and ſtores as he could procure a conveyance for, hoping to be joined in his route by great numbers of the Indians of the Six Nations, to whom he ſent invitations to that effect as he paſſed by their ſettlements: but they, inſtead of complying with his deſire, abſolutely declared againſt all hoſtilities on that ſide of the country; and inſiſted that Oſwego, being a place of traffick and peace, ought not to be diſturbed either by the Engliſh or the French, as if they could have perſuaded both parties to agree to ſuch a local truce. Upon this refuſal, Mr. Shirley proceeded forward, being joined by very few Indians, and arrived at Oſwego on the ſeventeenth or eighteenth of Auguſt; but the reſt of the troops and artillery did not arrive till the laſt day of that month; and even then, their ſtore of proviſions was not ſufficient to enable them to proceed againſt Niagara, though ſome tolerable good veſſels had by this time been built and got ready for that purpoſe. The General now reſolved to take but ſix hundred men with him for the attack of Niagara, and to leave the reſt of his army, conſiſting of about fourteen hundred more, at Oſwego, to defend that place, in caſe the French ſhould attack it in his abſence, which there was reaſon to apprehend they might, as they then had a conſiderable force at Fort Frontenac, from whence they could eaſily croſs over the lake Ontario to Oſwego. However, he was ſtill obliged to wait at Oſwego for proviſions, of which at length a ſmall ſupply arrived on the twenty-

ſixth of September, barely ſufficient to ſupport his men during their intended expedition, and to allow twelve days ſhort ſubſiſtence for thoſe he left behind. But by this time the rainy boiſterous ſeaſon had begun, on which account moſt of his Indians had already left him, and were returned home; and the few that remained with him declared that there was no croſſing the lake Ontario in batteaux at that ſeaſon, or any time before the next ſummer. In this perplexity he called a council of war, which, after weighing all circumſtances, unanimouſly reſolved to defer the attempt upon Niagara till the next year, and to employ the troops, whilſt they remained at Oſwego, in building barracks, and erecting, or at leaſt beginning to erect, two new forts, one on the eaſt ſide of the river Onandaga, four hundred and fifty yards diſtant from the old fort, which it was to command, as well as the entrance of the harbour, and to be called Ontario-fort; and the other four hundred and fifty yards weſt of the old fort, to be called Oſwego new fort.

§ XIX. Theſe things being agreed on, General Shirley, with the greateſt part of the troops under his command, ſet out on his return to Albany on the twenty-fourth of October, leaving Colonel Mercer, with a garriſon of about ſeven hundred men, at Oſwego; though repeated advice had been received, that the French had then at leaſt a thouſand men at their fort of Frontenac, upon the ſame lake: and, what was ſtill worſe, the new forts were not yet near completed; but left to be finiſhed by the hard labour of Colonel Mercer and his little garriſon, with the addition of this melancholy circumſtance, that, if beſieged by the enemy in the winter, it would not be poſſible for his friends to come to his aſſiſtance. Thus ended this year's unfortunate campaign, during which the French, with the aſſiſtance of their Indian allies, continued their murders, ſcalping, captivating, and laying waſte the

BOOK III. 1755.

the weſtern frontiers of Virginia and Pennſylvania, during the whole winter.

§ XX. The miniſters of the two jarring powers were very buſily employed this year at moſt of the Courts of Europe; but their tranſactions were kept extremely ſecret. The French endeavoured to inſpire the Spaniards with a jealouſy of the ſtrength of the Engliſh by ſea, eſpecially in America; and the Spaniſh Court ſeemed inclined to accept of the office of mediator: but Mr. Wall, who was perfectly well acquainted with the ſtate of affairs between England and France, ſeconded the repreſentations of the Britiſh miniſtry, which demonſtrated, that, however willing Great-Britain might be to accept of the mediation of Spain, ſhe could not agree to any ſuſpenſion of Arms in America, which France inſiſted on as a preliminary condition, without hazarding the whole of her intereſt there; and that the captures which had been made by the Engliſh were the neceſſary conſequences of the encroachments and injuſtice of the French, particularly in that country. Upon this remonſtrance, all further talk of the mediation of Spain was dropped, and the miniſtry of Verſailles had recourſe to the Princes of Germany; amongſt whom the Elector of Cologn was ſoon brought over to their party, ſo as to conſent to their forming magazines in his territories in Weſtphalia. This was a plain indication of their deſign againſt Hanover, which they ſoon after made his Britannick Majeſty, who was then at Hanover, an offer of ſparing, if he would agree to certain conditions of neutrality for that electorate, which he rejected with diſdain. Then the Count D'Aubeterre, Envoy Extraordinary from France at the Court of Vienna, propoſed a ſecret negociation with the miniſters of the Empreſs-Queen. The ſecret articles of the treaty of Peterſburgh, between the two Empreſſes, had ſtipulated a kind of partition of the Pruſſian territories, in caſe that Prince ſhould infringe the treaty

treaty of Dresden; but his Britannick Majesty, though often invited, had always refused to agree to any such stipulation; and the King of Poland, howsoever he might be inclined to favour the scheme, did not dare to avow it formally, till matters should be more ripe for carrying it into execution. The Court of Vienna, whose favourite measure this was, began to listen to D'Aubeterre's insinuations, and by degrees entered into negociations with him, which, in the end, were productive of that unnatural confederacy between the Empress-Queen and the King of France, of which further notice will be taken in the occurrences of the next year, when the treaty between them, into which they afterwards found means secretly to bring the Empress of Russia, was concluded at Versailles.

§ XXI. The King of England taking it for granted that the French would invade Hanover, in consequence of their rupture with Great-Britain, which seemed to be near at hand, began to take measures for the defence of that electorate. To this end, during his stay at Hanover, he concluded, on the eighteenth of June, a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, by which his Serene Highness engaged to hold in readiness, during four years, for his Majesty's service, a body of eight thousand men, to be employed, if required, upon the continent, or in Britain or Ireland; but not on board the fleet or beyond the seas: and also, if his Britannick Majesty should judge it necessary or advantageous for his service, to furnish and join to this body of eight thousand men, within six months after they should be demanded, four thousand more, of which seven hundred were to be horse or dragoons, and each regiment of infantry to have two field pieces of cannon*. Another treaty was begun with Russia

* The King, on his side, promised to pay to the Landgrave for these succours, eighty crowns banco, by way of levy-money, for every trooper or dragoon duely armed and mounted, and thirty crowns

BOOK III. 1755.

Ruſſia about the ſame time; but this did not take effect during his Majeſty's reſidence at Hanover: that others were not concluded was the more ſurpriſing, as our ſubſidy treaty with Saxony had then expired, and that with Bavaria was near expiring, and as the ſecuring of theſe two Princes in our intereſt was at leaſt as neceſſary towards forming a ſufficient confederacy upon the continent for the defence of Hanover, as it was to ſecure the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel. If the reaſon of their not being engaged, and no other ſeems ſo probable, was, that they refuſed to renew their treaties with England upon any terms, all that can be ſaid is, that they were guilty of flagrant ingratitude, as they had both received a ſubſidy from this kingdom for many years in time of peace, when they neither were nor could be of any ſervice to the intereſt of Great-Britain.

§ XXII. On the fifteenth of July an expreſs arrived from Admiral Boſcawen, with an account of his having taken the two French ſhips of war the Alcide and the Lys. This was certainly contrary to the expectation of the Court of France; for had they apprehended any ſuch attack, they would not have ordered Mr. M'Namara to return to Breſt with the chief part of their ſquadron; nor was it, perhaps,

crowns banco for every foot ſoldier; the crown to be reckoned at fifty-three ſols of Holland, or at four ſhillings and nine pence three farthings Engliſh money; and alſo to pay to his Serene Highneſs, for the eight thouſand men, an annual ſubſidy of an hundred and fifty thouſand crowns banco, during the four years, to commence from the day of ſigning the treaty; which ſubſidy was to be increaſed to three hundred thouſand crowns yearly, from the time of requiring the troops, to the time of their entering into Britiſh pay; and in caſe of their being diſmiſſed, the ſaid ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand crowns was then to revive and be continued during the reſidue of the term: but, if twelve thouſand men were demanded and furniſhed, the ſubſidy was then to be increaſed in proportion; and in caſe the King of Great-Britain ſhould at any time think fit to ſend back theſe troops, before the expiration of the treaty, notice thereof was to be given to his Serene Highneſs three months beforehand; one month's pay was to be allowed them for their return, and they were to be furniſhed gratis with the neceſſary tranſport veſſels.

leſs

less contrary to the expectation of some of our own ministry: but as matters had been carried so far, it was then too late to retreat; and, therefore, orders were soon after given to all our ships of war to make reprisals upon the French, by taking their ships wherever they should meet them. Sir Edward Hawke sailed from Portsmouth on the twenty-first of July, with eighteen ships of war, to watch the return of the French fleet from America, which however, escaped him, and arrived at Brest on the third day of September. Commodore Frankland sailed from Spithead for the West-Indies on the thirteenth of August with four ships of war, furnished with orders to commit hostilities, as well as to protect our trade and sugar-islands from any insult that the French might offer; and the Duke de Mirepoix, their Ambassador at the Court of London, set out for Paris on the twenty-second of July, without taking leave.

§ XXIII. A war being thus in some measure begun, his Majesty thought proper, perhaps for that reason, to return to his British dominions sooner than usual; for he left Hanover on the eighth of September, and arrived on the fifteenth at Kensington, where the treaty of alliance between him and the Empress of Russia, which he had begun during his absence, was concluded on the thirtieth of the same month. By this treaty her Russian Majesty engaged to hold in readiness in Livonia, upon the frontiers of Lithuania, a body of troops consisting of forty thousand infantry, with the necessary artillery, and fifteen thousand cavalry; and also on the coast of the same province, forty or fifty gallies, with the necessary crews; to be ready to act, upon the first order, in his Majesty's service, in case, said the fifth article, which was the most remarkable, that the dominions of his Britannick Majesty in Germany should be invaded on account of the interests or disputes which regard his kingdoms; her Imperial

BOOK III. 1755.

Imperial Majeſty declaring that ſhe would look upon ſuch an invaſion as a caſe of the alliance of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-two; and that the ſaid dominions ſhould be therein compriſed in this reſpect; but neither theſe troops nor gallies were to be put in motion, unleſs his Britannick Majeſty, or his allies, ſhould be ſomewhere attacked; in which caſe the Ruſſian General ſhould march, as ſoon as poſſible after requiſition, to make a diverſion with thirty thouſand infantry and fifteen thouſand cavalry; and ſhould embark on board the gallies the other ten thouſand infantry to make a deſcent according to the exigency of the affair. On the other ſide, his Britannick Majeſty engaged to pay to her Ruſſian Majeſty an annual ſubſidy of an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a-year, each year to be paid in advance, and to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications, to the day that theſe troops ſhould upon requiſition march out of Ruſſia; from which day the annual ſubſidy to her Imperial Majeſty was to be five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to be paid always four months in advance, until the troops ſhould return into the Ruſſian dominions, and for three months after their return. His Britannick Majeſty, who was to be at liberty to ſend once every year into the ſaid province of Livonia a commiſſary, to ſee and examine the number and condition of the ſaid troops, further engaged, that, in caſe her Ruſſian Majeſty ſhould be diſturbed in this diverſion, or attacked herſelf, he would furniſh immediately the ſuccour ſtipulated in the treaty of one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-two; and that in caſe a war ſhould break out, he would ſend into the Baltick a ſquadron of his ſhips, of a force ſuitable to the circumſtances. This was the chief ſubſtance of the treaty which, by agreement of both parties, was to ſubſiſt for four years from the exchange of the ratifications: but in the ſeventh article

 theſe

theſe words were unluckily inſerted: " Conſidering alſo the proximity of the countries wherein the diverſion in queſtion will probably be made, and the facility her troops will probably have of ſubſiſting immediately in an enemy's country, ſhe takes upon herſelf alone, during ſuch a diverſion, the ſubſiſtence and treatment of the ſaid troops by ſea and land." And in the eleventh article it was ſtipulated, that all the plunder the Ruſſian army ſhould take from the enemy ſhould belong to them. That his Britannick Majeſty, who now knew enough of the Court of Vienna to be ſenſible that he could expect no aſſiſtance from thence, in caſe his German dominions were invaded, ſhould enter into this convention with the Empreſs of Ruſſia, in order to ſtrengthen his defence upon the continent, was extremely natural; eſpecially as he had lately lived in great friendſhip with her, and her tranſactions with the Court of France had been ſo ſecret, by paſſing through only that of Vienna, that he had not yet been informed of them; neither had the project of the treaty of Verſailles then come to his knowledge, or to that of the King of Pruſſia, nor had either of theſe Princes yet made any formal advances to the other.

§ XXIV. The firſt intimation that appeared publickly of the negociations of France with the Empreſs of Germany, was, when the French miniſter, Count d'Aubeterre, declared at Vienna, " That " the warlike deſigns with which the King his maſ-" ter was charged, were ſufficiently confuted by his " great moderation, of which all Europe had mani-" fold proofs: that his Majeſty was perſuaded this " groundleſs charge had given as much indignation " to their Imperial Majeſties as to himſelf: that he " was firmly reſolved to preſerve to Chriſtendom " that tranquillity which it enjoyed through his good " faith, in religiouſly obſerving the treaty of Aix-" la-Chapelle: but that if his Britannick Majeſty's

" allies

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SAR

BOOK III. 1755.

"allies ſhould take part in the war which was kindled in America, by furniſhing ſuccours to the Engliſh, his Majeſty would be authoriſed to conſider and treat them as principals in it." France likewiſe made the ſame declaration to other Courts.

§ XXV. The words and ſtipulation in the above recited clauſe, in the ſeventh article of the treaty of Great-Britain with Ruſſia, were looked on as a menace levelled at the King of Pruſſia, who, having ſome time found means to procure a copy of this treaty, and ſeeing it in that light, boldly declared, by his miniſters at all the Courts of Europe, that he would oppoſe, with his utmoſt force, the enterance of any foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatever. This declaration was particularly diſpleaſing to the French, who had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and erected ſeveral great magazines in Weſtphalia, with the permiſſion of the Elector of Cologn, for which the Engliſh miniſter at his Court was, in Auguſt, ordered to withdraw from thence without taking leave. However, as ſoon as this declaration of the King of Pruſſia was notified to the Court of Verſailles, they ſent an Ambaſſador Extraordinary, the Duke de Nivernois, to Berlin, to try to perſuade his Majeſty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with them. His Pruſſian Majeſty received this Ambaſſador in ſuch a manner, as ſeemed to denote a diſpoſition to agree to every thing he had to propoſe. This awakened in England a jealouſy that his declaration alone was not to be relied on, but that it was neceſſary to bring him under ſome ſolemn engagement; eſpecially as the French had by this time a numerous army near the Lower Rhine, with magazines provided for their march all the way to Hanover; and if the King of Pruſſia ſuffered them to paſs through his dominions, that electorate muſt be ſwallowed up before the Ruſſian auxiliares could poſſibly be brought thither,

thither, or any army be formed for protecting it*. For this reason a negociation was set on foot by Great-Britain at Berlin; but as it was not concluded before the beginning of the next year, we shall defer entering into the particulars of it, till we come to that period.

§ XXVI. Meanwhile the French made another attempt upon the Court of Madrid, loudly complaining of the taking of their two men of war by Boscawen's squadron, before any declaration of war was made, representing it as a most unjustifiable proceeding, which threatened a dissolution of all faith amongst nations. This produced a strong memorial from Sir Benjamin Keene, our minister at that Court, importing, "That it was well known that the "French fleet carried troops, ammunition, and "every thing necessary for defending the countries "which the French had unjustly usurped in America, and of which the English claimed the property: that the rules of self-defence authorise "every nation to render fruitless any attempt that "may tend to its prejudice: that this right had been "made use of only in taking the two French ships "of war; and that the distinction of place might "be interpreted in favour of the English, seeing "the two ships were taken on the coasts of the "countries where the contest arose." In answer to this observation, the French minister represented the vast number of ships that had been taken in the European seas; for in fact the English ports soon began to be filled with them in consequence of the general orders for making reprisals. But the Court of Madrid was so far from being persuaded by any thing he could say, that it gave his Britannick Majesty the strongest assurances of its friendship, and of its

* Perhaps the Elector of Hanover was more afraid of the Prussian Monarch than of the Most Christian King, knowing with what ease and rapidity this enterprizing neighbour could, in a few days, subdue the whole electorate.

BOOK III. 1755. its intention to take no part in the differences between him and France, but ſuch as ſhould be conciliatory, and tending to reſtore the publick tranquillity.

§ XXVII. On the other hand, his Britannick Majeſty, required, as King of Great-Britain, the auxiliaries ſtipulated to him by treaty from the Empreſs-Queen. But theſe were refuſed, under pretence, that as the conteſt between him and France related to America only, it was not a caſe of the alliance; though at the ſame time the French made no ſcruple of owning, that they intended to make a powerful deſcent on Great-Britain early in the ſpring. When, a little while after, France being employed in making great preparation for a land war in Europe, the King of England required her to defend her own poſſeſſions, the Barrier in the Low Countries with the number of men ſtipulated by treaty, which countries, acquired by Engliſh blood and Engliſh treaſure, had been given to her on that expreſs condition, ſhe declared that ſhe could not ſpare troops for that purpoſe, on account of her dangerous enemy the King of Pruſſia: and afterwards, when he was ſecured by his treaty with England, ſhe urged that as a reaſon for her alliance with France. It muſt be owned, however, for the ſake of hiſtorical truth, that this was no bad reaſon, conſidering the power, the genius, and the character of that Prince, who hovered over her dominions with an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand veterans. It muſt likewiſe be owned, that ſhe undertook to procure the French King's conſent to a neutrality for Hanover, which would have effectually ſecured that electorate from the invaſion of every other power but Pruſſia itſelf: and it is no ſtrained conjecture to ſuppoſe, that the dread of this very power was the true ſource of thoſe connections in Germany, which entailed ſuch a ruinous continental war upon Great-Britain.

§ XXVIII.

§ XXVIII. Though the English continued to make reprisals upon the French, not only in the seas of America, but also in those of Europe, by taking every ship they could meet with, and detaining them, their cargoes, and crews; yet the French, whether from a consciousness of their want of power by sea, or that they might have a more plausible plea to represent England as the aggressor, were so far from returning these hostilities, that their fleet, which escaped Sir Edward Hawke, having on the thirteenth of August, taken the Blanford ship of war with Governor Lyttelton on board, going to Carolina, they set the Governor at liberty, as soon as the Court was informed of the ship's being brought into Nantes, and shortly after released both the ship and crew. However, at the same time, their preparations for a land war still went on with great diligence, and their utmost arts and efforts were fruitlessly exerted to persuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join with them against Great-Britain.

§ XXIX. In England the preparations by sea became greater than ever; several new ships of war were put in commission, and many others taken into the service of the government: the exportation of gunpowder was forbid: the bounties to seamen were continued, and the number of those that either entered voluntarily, or were pressed, increased daily, as did also the captures from the French, among which was the Esperance, of seventy guns, taken as she was going from Rochefort to Brest to be manned. The land-forces of Great-Britain were likewise ordered to be augmented; several new regiments were raised, and all half-pay officers, and the out-pensioners belonging to Chelsea-hospital, were directed to send in their names, ages, and time of service, in order that such of them as were yet able to serve might be employed again if wanted. The English navy, so early as in the month of September of this year, consisted of one ship of an hundred and

BOOK III. 1755. and ten guns, five of an hundred guns each, thirteen of ninety, eight of eighty, five of ſeventy-four, twenty-nine of ſeventy, four of ſixty-ſix, one of ſixty-four, thirty-three of ſixty, three of fifty-four, twenty-eight of fifty, four of forty-four, thirty-five of forty, and forty-two of twenty, four ſloops of war, of eighteen guns each, two of ſixteen, eleven of fourteen, thirteen of twelve, and one of ten, beſides a great number of bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and tenders; a force ſufficient to oppoſe the united maritime ſtrength of all the powers in Europe; whilſt that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ſhips then upon the ſtocks, amounted to no more than ſix ſhips of eighty guns, twenty-one of ſeventy-four, one of ſeventy-two, four of ſeventy, thirty-one of ſixty-four, two of ſixty, ſix of fifty, and thirty-two frigates.

§ XXX. Such was the ſituation of the two kingdoms, when, on the thirteenth of November, the Parliament met, and his Majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he acquainted them—"That the moſt proper meaſures had been "taken to protect our poſſeſſions in America, and "to regain ſuch parts thereof as had been encroached "upon, or invaded; that to preſerve his people "from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent "a general war from being lighted up in Europe, "he had been always ready to accept reaſonable "and honourable terms of accommodation, but that "none ſuch had been propoſed by France: that he "had alſo confined his views and operations to "hinder France from making new encroachments, "or ſupporting thoſe already made; to exert his "people's right to a ſatisfaction for hoſtilities com-"mitted in time of profound peace, and to diſ-"appoint ſuch deſigns, as, from various appear-"ances and preparations, there was reaſon to think "had been formed againſt his kingdoms and domi-"nions: that the King of Spain earneſtly wiſhed

" the preservation of the publick tranquillity, and " had given assurances of his intention to continue " in the same pacifick sentiments: that he himself " had greatly increased his naval armaments, and " augmented his land-forces in such a manner as " might be least burthensome; and, finally, that he " had concluded a treaty with the Empress of Russia, " and another with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, " which should be laid before them."

§ XXXI. In answer to this speech, both Houses voted most loyal addresses, but not without a warm opposition, in each, to some of the particular expressions; for it having been proposed in the House of Lords to insert in their address the words following, viz. " That they looked upon themselves " as obliged, by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and honour, to stand by and support his " Majesty in all such wise and necessary measures " and engagements as his Majesty might have taken " in vindication of the rights of his Crown, or to " defeat any attempts which might be made by " France, in resentment for such measures, and to " assist his Majesty in disappointing or repelling all " such enterprizes as might be formed, not only " against his kingdoms, but also against any other " of his dominions (though not belonging to the " Crown of Great-Britain) in case they should be " attacked on account of the part which his Majesty had taken for maintaining the essential interests of his kingdoms;" the inserting of these words in their address was opposed by Earl Temple, and several other Lords; because, by the first part of them, they engaged to approve of the treaties with Russia and Hesse-Cassel, neither of which they had ever seen; nor could it be supposed that either of them could be of any advantage to this nation; and by the second part of these words it seemed to be resolved, to engage this nation in a continental connection for the defence of Hanover, which it was impossible

BOOK III. 1755. impoſſible for England to ſupport, and which would be ſo far from being of any advantage to it at ſea, or in America, that it might at laſt diſable the nation from defending itſelf in either of thoſe parts of the world. But upon putting the queſtion, the inſerting of theſe words was agreed to by a great majority, and accordingly they ſtand as part of the addreſs of the Houſe upon that occaſion.

§ XXXII. To this remarkable addreſs his Majeſty returned the following as remarkable anſwer: "My Lords, I give you my hearty thanks for this "dutiful and affectionate addreſs. I ſee, with the "greateſt ſatisfaction, the zeal you expreſs for my "perſon and government, and for the true intereſt "of your country, which I am determined to ad-"here to. The aſſurances which you give me for "the defence of my territories abroad, are a ſtrong "proof of your affection for me, and regard for my "honour. Nothing ſhall divert me from purſuing "thoſe meaſures which will effectually maintain the "poſſeſſions and rights of my kingdoms, and pro-"cure reaſonable and honourable terms of accom-"modation."—The addreſs of the Houſe of Commons breathed the ſame ſpirit of zeal and gratitude, and was full of the warmeſt aſſurances of a ready ſupport of his Majeſty, and of his foreign dominions, if attacked in reſentment of his maintaining the rights of his crown and kingdom; and his Majeſty's anſwer to it was to the ſame effect as that to the Houſe of Lords. The ſame, or nearly the ſame words, relating to the treaties concluded by his Majeſty, and to the defence of his foreign dominions, were propoſed to be inſerted in this addreſs, which was oppoſed by William Pitt, Eſq. then Paymaſter of his Majeſty's forces; the Right Hon. Henry Legge, Eſq. then Chancellor and Under-treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer, and one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; and by ſeveral other gentlemen in high poſts under the government, as well

well as by many others: but, upon putting the question, it was by a considerable majority agreed to insert the words objected to; and very soon after, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and most, if not all, of the gentlemen who had appeared in the opposition, were dismissed from their employments. In the mean time, a draft came over from Russia for part of the new subsidy stipulated to that crown; but some of the ministry, who were then at the head of the finances, refused to pay it, at least before the treaty should be approved of by Parliament.

§ XXXIII. Sir Thomas Robinson had not been long in possession of the office of Secretary of State, before it was generally perceived, that, though an honest, well meaning man, and a favourite with the King, his abilities were not equal to the functions of that post. Much less were they so at this juncture, when the nation was on the point of being engaged in a difficult and expensive war, and plunged into foreign measures and connections, which would require the utmost skill of an able politician to render them palatable to the people. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, though they scarce ever agreed in any other particular, had generally united in opposing his measures, and their superior influence in the House of Commons, and universally acknowledged abilities, though of very different kinds, had always prevailed, uncommon as it was, to see two persons who held considerable places under the government, one of them being Paymaster-General, and the other Secretary at War, oppose, upon almost every occasion, a Secretary of State who was supposed to know and speak the sentiments of his Master. Sir Thomas himself soon grew sensible of his want of sufficient weight in the senate of the nation; and therefore, of his own accord, on the tenth of November, wisely and dutifully resigned the seals of his office to his Majesty, who delivered them to Mr. Fox, and appointed Sir Thomas Master of the Wardrobe,

BOOK III. 1755.

with a penſion to him during his life, and after his death to his ſons. Lord Barrington ſucceeded Mr. Fox as Secretary at War; and ſoon after Sir George Lyttelton was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Lord of the Treaſury, in the room of Mr. Legge, who had declared himſelf againſt the new continental ſyſtem. However, notwithſtanding theſe changes in the miniſtry, very warm debates aroſe in both Houſes, when the treaties of Ruſſia and Heſſe-Caſſel came to be conſidered by them: ſome of the members were for referring them to a committee: but this motion was over-ruled, in conſideration of his Majeſty's having engaged in them to guard againſt a ſtorm that ſeemed ready to break upon his electoral dominions, merely on account of our quarrel with the French. They were at length approved of by a majority of three hundred and eighteen againſt one hundred and twenty-ſix, in the Houſe of Commons; and by eighty-four againſt eleven, in the Houſe of Lords.

§ XXXIV. The Houſe of Commons then proceeded to provide for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and for the deficiencies of the proviſions for the former. Fifty thouſand ſeamen, including nine thouſand one hundred and thirty-eight marines, were voted, on the twenty-fourth of November, for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix, together with two millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds for their maintenance, and thirty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three land ſoldiers, with nine hundred and thirty thouſand ſix hundred and three pounds, ſix ſhillings, and nine-pence, for their ſupport. An hundred thouſand pounds were voted as a ſubſidy to the Empreſs of Ruſſia; fifty-four thouſand one hundred and forty pounds, twelve ſhillings, and ſix-pence, to the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; and ten thouſand pounds to the Elector of Bavaria.

§ XXXV.

§ XXXV. During theſe tranſactions, the publick was overwhelmed with conſternation, by the tidings of a dreadful earthquake, which, on the firſt of November, ſhook all Spain and Portugal, and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Liſbon in ruins. When the news of this great calamity firſt reached England, it was feared the conſequences of it might affect our publick credit, conſidering the vaſt intereſt which the Engliſh merchants had in the Portugueſe trade: but fortunately, it afterwards proved inconſiderable, in compariſon of what had been apprehended: the quarter in which the Engliſh chiefly lived, and where they had their warehouſes, having ſuffered the leaſt of any part of the city; and moſt of the Engliſh merchants then reſiding there, together with their families, being at their country-houſes to avoid the inſults to which they might have been expoſed from the Portugueſe populace, during the celebration of their *auto-da fe*, which was kept that very day. The two firſt ſhocks of this dreadful viſitation continued near a quarter of an hour, after which the water of the river Tagus roſe perpendicularly above twenty feet, and ſubſided to its natural bed in leſs than a minute. Great numbers of houſes, of which this city then contained about thirty-ſix thouſand, extending in length near ſix miles, in form of a creſcent, on the aſcent of a hill, upon the north ſhore of the mouth of the river Tagus, within nine miles from the ocean, were thrown down by the repeated commotions of the earth, together with ſeveral magnificent churches, monaſteries, and publick buildings. But what entirely completed the ruin of this then moſt opulent capital of the Portugueſe dominions, was a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous or natural, but chiefly occaſioned by a ſet of impious villains, who, unawed by the tremendous ſcene at that very inſtant paſſing before their eyes, with a wickedneſs ſcarcely to be credited, ſet fire even to the falling edifices in different

BOOK III. 1755.

ferent parts of the city, to increaſe the general confuſion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already deſolated fellow-citizens. Out of three hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, which Liſbon was then ſuppoſed to contain, about ten thouſand periſhed by this calamity; and the ſurvivors, deprived of their habitations, and deſtitute even of the neceſſaries of life, were forced to ſeek for ſhelter in the open fields.

§ XXXVI. As ſoon as his Majeſty received an account of this deplorable event, from his Ambaſſador at the Court of Madrid, he ſent a meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament, on the twenty-eighth of November, acquainting them therewith, and deſiring their concurrence and aſſiſtance towards ſpeedily relieving the unhappy ſufferers; and the Parliament thereupon, to the honour of Britiſh humanity, unanimouſly voted, on the eighth of December, a gift of an hundred thouſand pounds for the diſtreſſed people of Portugal. A circumſtance which enhances the merit of this action is, that though the Engliſh themſelves were, at that very time, in great want of grain, a conſiderable part of the ſum was ſent in corn, flour, rice, and a large quantity of beef from Ireland: ſupplies which came very ſeaſonably for the poor Portugueſe, who were in actual want of the neceſſaries of life. Their King was ſo affected by this inſtance of Britiſh generoſity, that, to ſhow his gratitude for the timely relief, he ordered Mr. Caſtres, the Britiſh Reſident at his Court, to give the preference, in the diſtribution of theſe ſupplies, to the Britiſh ſubjects who had ſuffered by the earthquake: accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the proviſions, and two thouſand pounds in money, were ſet apart for that purpoſe; and his Portugueſe Majeſty returned his thanks, in very warm terms, to the Britiſh crown and nation.

§ XXXVII. The report of an intended invaſion of theſe kingdoms by the French increaſing daily, on

on the twenty-ſecond day of January Lord Barrington as Secretary at War, laid before the Houſe an eſtimate for defraying the charge of ten new regiments of foot, over and above the thirty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three land ſoldiers before ordered to be raiſed; and a ſum of ninety-one thouſand nine hundred and nineteen pounds, ten ſhillings, was voted for theſe additional forces: upon another eſtimate preſented a little after by the ſame Lord, and founded upon the ſame reaſons, for raiſing, for the further defence of the kingdom, eleven troops of light dragoons, forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-eight pounds, eleven ſhillings, and three pence, were voted for the enſuing year: together with eighty-one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, for a regiment of foot to be raiſed in North-America; two hundred and ninety-eight thouſand five hundred and thirty-four pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and ten pence halfpenny, for the maintenance of our forces already eſtabliſhed in our American colonies; and ſeventy-nine thouſand nine hundred and fifteen pounds, ſix ſhillings, for ſix regiments of foot from Ireland, to ſerve in North America and the Eaſt-Indies. Beſides all theſe ſupplies, Mr. Fox, on the twenty-eighth of January, preſented to the Houſe a meſſage from the King, deſiring them to take into conſideration the faithful ſervices of the people of New-England, and of ſome other parts of North-America; upon which one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds more were voted, and five thouſand pounds as a reward to Sir William Johnſon in particular. In ſhort, including ſeveral other ſums, as well for defraying the expence of the army and navy, as for a ſubſidy of twenty thouſand pounds, to the King of Pruſſia, and one hundred and twenty-one thouſand four hundred and forty-ſeven pounds, two ſhillings, and ſix pence, for Hanoverian troops, of which two laſt articles further notice will be taken hereafter, the whole

BOOK III. 1755.

whole of the ſupplies granted by Parliament in this ſeſſion amounted to ſeven millions two hundred and twenty-nine thouſand one hundred and ſeventeen pounds, four ſhillings, and ſix pence three farthings. For raiſing this ſum, beſides the malt-tax, and the land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, the whole produce of the ſinking-fund, from the fifth of January one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix, till it ſhould amount to one million five hundred and fifty-five thouſand nine hundred and fifty-five pounds, eleven ſhillings, and eleven pence half-penny, was ordered to be applied thereunto; together with a million to be raiſed by loans or Exchequer-bills, at three per cent. intereſt; one million five hundred thouſand pounds to be raiſed by the ſale of redeemable annuities, at three and a half per cent. and five hundred thouſand pounds to be raiſed by a lottery, at three per cent. All which ſums, with eighty-three thouſand four hundred and twelve pounds, two ſhillings, and five pence half-penny, then remaining in the Exchequer, amounted to ſeven millions four hundred and twenty-ſeven thouſand two hundred and ſixty-one pounds, five ſhillings, and ſeven pence.

§ XXXVIII. The clauſe inſerted in the mutiny bill laſt year, ſubjecting all officers and ſoldiers raiſed in America, by authority of the reſpective governors or governments there, to the ſame rules, and articles of war, and the ſame penalties and puniſhments, as the Britiſh forces were liable to; the act paſſed at the ſame time for regulating the marine forces, while on ſhore, and that for the more ſpeedy and effectual manning of his Majeſty's navy, were not only confirmed now; but it was further enacted, with reſpect to this laſt, as well as for the more ſpeedy and effectual recruiting of his Majeſty's land-forces, That the Commiſſioners appointed by the preſent act, ſhould be empowered to raiſe and levy, within their reſpective juriſdictions, ſuch able-bodied men as did not follow any lawful calling or employment: or had

not ſome other lawful and ſufficient ſupport; and might order, wherever and whenever they pleaſed, a general ſearch to be made for ſuch perſons, in order to their being brought before them to be examined; nay, that the pariſh or town officers might, without any ſuch order, ſearch for and ſecure ſuch perſons, in order to convey them before the ſaid Commiſſioners to be examined: That if any three Commiſſioners ſhould find any perſon, ſo brought before them, to be within the above deſcription, and if the recruiting officer attending ſhould judge him to be a man fit for his Majeſty's ſervice, they ſhould cauſe him to be delivered to ſuch officer, who might ſecure him in any place of ſafety provided by the Juſtices of Peace for that purpoſe, or even in any publick priſon; and that every ſuch man was from that time to be deemed a liſted ſoldier, and not to be taken out of his Majeſty's ſervice by any proceſs, other than for ſome criminal matter. Nothing could more plainly ſhew either the zeal of the Parliament for a vigorous proſecution of the war, or their confidence in the juſtice and moderation of our miniſtry, than their agreeing to this act, which was to continue in force till the end of the next ſeſſion: and which, in the hands of a wicked and enterpriſing adminiſtration, might have been made ſuch an uſe of, as would have been inconſiſtent with that ſecurity which is provided by our happy conſtitution for the liberty of the ſubject.

§ XXXIX. The next object of the immediate attention of Parliament in this ſeſſion was the raiſing of a new regiment of foot in North-America; for which purpoſe the ſum of eighty-one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, to which the eſtimate thereof amounted, was voted. This regiment, which was to conſiſt of four battalions of a thouſand men each, was intended to be raiſed chiefly out of the Germans and Swiſs, who, for many years paſt, had annually tranſported themſelves in

BOOK III. 1755.

in great numbers to the British plantations in America, where waste lands had been assigned them upon the frontiers of the provinces; but, very injudiciously, no care had been taken to intermix them with the English inhabitants of the place. To this circumstance it is owing, that they have continued to correspond and converse only with one another; so that very few of them, even of those who have been born there, have yet learned to speak or understand the English tongue. However, as they were all zealous Protestants, and in general strong, hardy men, and accustomed to the climate, it was judged that a regiment of good and faithful soldiers might be raised out of them, particularly proper to oppose the French: but to this end it was necessary to appoint some officers, especially subalterns, who understood military discipline, and could speak the German language; and as a sufficient number of such could not be found among the English officers, it was necessary to bring over and grant commissions to several German and Swiss officers and engineers: but this step, by the act of settlement, could not be taken without the authority of Parliament; an act was now passed for enabling his Majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign Protestants, who had served abroad as officers or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers in America only. An act was likewise passed in this session, strictly forbidding, under pain of death, any of his Majesty's subjects to serve as officers under the French King, or to enlist as soldiers in his service, without his Majesty's previous licence; and also for obliging such of his Majesty's subjects as should, in time to come, accept of commissions in the Scotch brigade in the Dutch service, to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, on pain of forfeiting five hundred pounds.

§ XL. As it had been resolved, in the beginning of the preceding summer, to build vessels of force upon

upon the lake Ontario, an act was now paſſed for extending the maritime laws of England, relating to the government of his Majeſty's ſhips and forces by ſea, to ſuch officers, ſeamen, and others, as ſhould ſerve on board his Majeſty's ſhips or veſſels employed upon the lakes, great waters, or rivers in North-America: and alſo, but not without oppoſition to this laſt, for the better recruiting of his Majeſty's forces upon the continent of America: to which end, by a new clauſe now added to a former act, a recruiting officer was empowered to inliſt and detain an indented ſervant, even though his maſter ſhould reclaim him, upon paying to the maſter ſuch a ſum as two Juſtices of Peace within the precinct ſhould adjudge to be a reaſonable equivalent for the original purchaſe-money and the remaining time ſuch ſervant might have to ſerve.

§ XLI. The inteſtine broils of Ireland were happily compoſed this year, by the prudent management of the Marquis of Hartington, Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom. By his ſteady and diſintereſted conduct, his candour and humanity, the Iriſh were not only brought to a much better temper, even among themſelves, than they were before their late outrageous riots and dangerous diſſenſions happened; but alſo prevailed upon to acquieſce in the meaſures of England, without this laſt being obliged to give up any one point of her ſuperiority. The leading men in the Parliament of Ireland were the firſt that conformed: and though the ferment continued very high for ſome time after, among the middling and lower ranks of people, it was at length entirely allayed by the wiſdom of the Lord-Lieutenant, and the excellent law, which he encouraged and paſſed for the benefit of that nation *. The P——— of Ireland, who

* Among other objects of the attention of the legiſlature of that country, ten thouſand pounds were granted for making the river Nore navigable from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Inneſtalge; twenty

BOOK III. 1755. who had been very buſy in fomenting many of the late diſturbances, was, by his Majeſty's command, ſtruck off the liſt of Privy-Counſellors: and the greateſt part of thoſe patriots, whom faction had turned out of their employments there, were reinſtated with honour.

§ XLII. The Parliament of England, which had adjourned on the twenty-third of December, met again: the Houſe of Commons on the thirteenth of An. 1756. January, and the Lords on the nineteenth. On the ſixteenth of the ſame month, the treaty between his Britannick Majeſty and the King of Pruſſia was ſigned, importing, That, for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preſerve her peace and tranquillity, which it was feared was in danger of being diſturbed, on account of the diſputes in America, the two Kings, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themſelves not to ſuffer foreign troops of any nation whatſoever to enter into Germany, or paſs through it during the troubles aforeſaid, and the conſequences that might reſult from them; but to oppoſe the ſame with their utmoſt might, in order to ſecure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and conſtitutions, and preſerve her peace uninterrupted. Thus, the late treaty with Ruſſia was virtually renounced. Their Majeſties, moreover, ſeiſed this favourable opportunity to adjuſt the differences that had ſubſiſted between them, in relation to the remainder of the Sileſia loan due to the ſubjects of his Britannick Majeſty, and the indemnification

twenty thouſand pounds towards carrying on an inland navigation from the city of Dublin to the river Shannon; four thouſand pounds for making the river Newry navigable; a thouſand pounds a-year for two years, for the encouragement of Engliſh Proteſtant ſchools; ſeveral ſums, to be diſtributed in premiums, for the encouragement of the cambrick, hempen, and flaxen manufactures; and three hundred thouſand pounds to his Majeſty, towards ſupporting the ſeveral branches of the eſtabliſhment, and for defraying the expences of the government for two years.

claimed by the subjects of his Prussian Majesty for their losses by sea during the late war; so that the attachment laid on the said debt was agreed to be taken off, as soon as the ratification of this treaty should be exchanged. CHAP. IV. 1756.

§ XLIII. On the twenty-first of January the House took into consideration the laws then in being relating to the militia of this kingdom; and, finding them insufficient, ordered a new bill to be prepared, and brought in, for the better regulating of the militia forces in the several counties of England. A bill was accordingly prepared to that effect, and presented to the House on the twelfth of March by the Hon. Charles Townsend, Esq. who, to his honour, was one of the chief promoters of it. After receiving many amendments in the House of Commons, it was on the tenth of May passed, and sent to the Lords: but several objections being made to it by some of the Peers, and it seeming to them that some further amendments were still necessary, which they thought they could not in that session spare time to consider so maturely as the importance of the subject required, a negative of fifty-nine against twenty-three was put upon the motion for passing the bill; though every one must have been sensible, not only of the propriety, but even of the absolute necessity of such a law, which was ardently desired by the whole nation.

§ XLIV. On the twenty-seventh of May his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and, after having given the Royal assent to the bills then depending, thanked his Parliament, in a speech from the throne, for their vigorous and effectual support. He acquainted them, that the injuries and hostilities which had been for some time committed by the French against his dominions and subjects, were then followed by the actual invasion of the Island of Minorca, though guaranteed to him by all the great powers in Europe, and particularly by the French King:

BOOK III. 1756.

That he had, therefore, found himſelf obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form againſt France; and that he relied on the Divine Protection, and the vigorous aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, in ſo juſt a cauſe. The Parliament was then adjourned to the eighteenth of June; and from thence afterwards to the eighteenth of July, and then it was prorogued.

CHAP. V.

§ I. *Letter from M. Rouillé to the Secretary of State.* § II. *The two nations recriminate on each other.* § III. *The French threaten Great-Britain with an invasion.* § IV. *Requisition of six thousand Dutch troops according to treaty.* § V. *Message from the King to the Parliament.* § VI. *A body of Hessians and Hanoverians transported into England.* § VII. *French preparations at Toulon.* § VIII. *Admiral Byng sails for the Mediterranean.* § IX. *He arrives at Gibraltar.* § X. *Engages M. de la Galissonniere off Minorca.* § XI. *And returns to Gibraltar.* § XII. *Ferment of the people at home.* § XIII. *Admiral Byng superseded and sent home prisoner.* § XIV. *Account of the siege of St. Philip's forts in Minorca.* § XV. *Precautions taken by General Blakeney.* § XVI. *Siege commenced.* § XVII. *English squadron appears.* § XVIII. *General attack of the works.* § XIX. *The garrison capitulates.* § XX. *Sir Edward Hawke sails to Minorca.* § XXI. *Rejoicings in France, and clamours in England.* § XXII. *Gallantry of Fortunatus Wright.* § XXIII. *General Blakeney created a Baron.* § XXIV. *Measures taken for the defence of Great-Britain.* § XXV. *Proclamation.* § XXVI. *Earl of Loudoun appointed Commander in chief in America.* § XXVII. *His Britannick Majesty's declaration of war.* § XXVIII. *Substance of the French King's declaration.* § XXIX. *Address of the City of London.* § XXX. *Trial of General Fowke.* § XXXI. *Affairs of America.* § XXXII. *Colonel Bradstreet defeats a body of French on the river Onondaga.* § XXXIII. *Earl of Loudoun arrives at New-York.* § XXXIV. *Oswego reduced by the enemy.* § XXXV. *Further proceedings in America.* § XXXVI. *Naval operations in that country.* § XXXVII. *Transactions in the East-Indies.*

 § XXXVIII.

§ XXXVIII. *Calcutta besieged by the Viceroy of Bengal.* § XXXIX. *Deplorable fate of those who perished in the dungeon there.* § XL. *Additional cruelties exercised on Mr. Holwel.* § XLI. *Resolution against Angria.* § XLII. *Fort of Geriah taken by Admiral Watson and Mr. Clive.* § XLIII. *Their subsequent proceedings in the river Ganges.*

BOOK III. 1756.

§ I. IN the month of January Mr. Fox, lately appointed Secretary of State, received a letter from M. Rouillé, Minister and Secretary of State for foreign affairs to the King of France, expostulating, in the name of his Sovereign, upon the orders and instructions for committing hostilities, which his Britannick Majesty had given to General Braddock and Admiral Boscawen, in diametrical opposition to the most solemn assurances so often repeated by word of mouth, as well as in writing. He complained of the insult which had been offered to his Master's flag in attacking and taking two of his ships in the open sea, without any previous declaration of war; as also by committing depredations on the commerce of his Most Christian Majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, the faith of treaties, and the usages established among civilized nations. He said, the sentiments and character of his Britannick Majesty gave the King his Master room to expect, that, at his return to London, he would disavow the conduct of his Admiralty; but seeing that, instead of punishing, he rather encouraged those who had been guilty of such depredations, his Most Christian Majesty would be deemed deficient in what he owed to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer demanding a signal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage sustained by his subjects. He, therefore, demanded immediate and full restitution of all the French ships, which, contrary to law and decorum, had been taken by the English

English navy, together with all the officers, soldiers, mariners, guns, ſtores, and merchandize. He declared, that ſhould this reſtitution be made, he ſhould be willing to engage in a negociation for what further ſatisfaction he might claim, and continue deſirous to ſee the differences relating to America determined by a ſolid and equitable accommodation; but if, contrary to all hopes, theſe demands ſhould be rejected, he would conſider ſuch a denial of juſtice as the moſt authentick declaration of war, and as a formed deſign in the Court of London to diſturb the peace of Europe. To this peremptory remonſtrance the Britiſh Secretary was directed to anſwer, That though the King of England would readily conſent to an equitable and ſolid accommodation, he would not comply with the demand of immediate and full reſtitution as a preliminary condition; for his Majeſty had taken no ſteps but ſuch as were rendered juſt and indiſpenſible by the hoſtilities which the French began in time of profound peace, and a proper regard for his own honour, the rights and poſſeſſions of his crown, and the ſecurity of his kingdoms.

§ II. Without all doubt the late tranſactions had afforded ſpecious arguments for both nations to impeach the conduct of each other. The French Court, conſcious of their encroachments in Nova-Scotia, affected to draw a ſhade over theſe, as particulars belonging to a diſputed territory, and to divert the attention to the banks of the Ohio, where Jamonville and his detachment had been attacked and maſſacred by the Engliſh, without the leaſt provocation. They likewiſe inveighed againſt the capture of their ſhips, before any declaration of war, as flagrant acts of piracy; and ſome neutral Powers of Europe ſeemed to conſider them in the ſame point of view. It was certainly high time to check the inſolence of the French by force of arms, and ſurely this might have been as effectually and expeditiouſly exerted

BOOK III. 1756. exerted under the usual sanction of a formal declaration; the omission of which exposed the administration to the censure of our neighbours, and fixed the imputation of fraud and free-booting on the beginning of the war. The ministry was said to have delayed the ceremony of denouncing war from political considerations, supposing that, should the French be provoked into the first declaration of this kind, the Powers of Europe would consider his Most Christian Majesty as the aggressor, and Great-Britain would reap all the fruits of the defensive alliances in which she had engaged. But nothing could be more weak and frivolous than such a conjecture. The aggressor is he who first violates the peace; and every ally will interpret the aggression according to his own interest and convenience. The administration maintained the appearance of candour in the midst of their hostilities. The merchant ships, of which a great number had been taken from the French, were not sold and divided among the captors, according to the practice of war; but carefully sequestered, with all their cargoes and effects, in order to be restored to the right owners, in case the disputes between the two nations should not be productive of an open rupture. In this particular, however, it was pity that a little common sense had not been blended with their honourable intention. Great part of the cargoes consisted of fish, and other perishable commodities, which were left to rot and putrify, and afterwards thrown overboard, to prevent contagion; so that the owners and captors were equally disappointed, and the value of them lost to both nations.

§ III. The Court of Versailles, while they presented remonstrances which they knew would prove ineffectual, and exclaimed against the conduct of Great-Britain with all the arts of calumny and exaggeration at every Court in Christendom, continued nevertheless to make such preparations as denoted a design to prosecute the war with uncommon vigour.

They began to repair and fortify Dunkirk: orders were published, that all British subjects should quit the dominions of France: many English vessels were seized in the different ports of that kingdom, and their crews sent to prison. At the same time an edict was issued, inviting the French subjects to equip privateers, offering a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man they should take from the enemy; and promising that, in case a peace should be speedily concluded, the King would purchase the privateers at prime cost. They employed great numbers of artificers and seamen in equipping a formidable squadron of ships at Brest; and assembling a strong body of land-forces, as well as a considerable number of transports, threatened the island of Great-Britain with a dangerous invasion.

§ IV. The English people were seized with consternation: the ministry were alarmed and perplexed. Colonel Yorke, the British Resident at the Hague, was ordered by his Majesty to make a requisition of the six thousand men whom the States-General are obliged by treaty to furnish, when Great-Britain shall be threatened with an invasion; and in February he presented a memorial for this purpose. Monsieur d'Affry, the French King's minister at the Hague, having received intimation of this demand, produced a counter-memorial from his Master, charging the English as the aggressors, and giving the States-General plainly to understand, that, should they grant the succours demanded by Great-Britain, he would consider their compliance as an act of hostility against himself. The Dutch, though divided among themselves by faction, were unanimously averse to any measure that might involve them in the approaching war. Their commerce was in a great measure decayed, and their finances were too much exhausted to admit of an immediate augmentation of their forces, which for many other reasons they strove to avoid.

They

BOOK III. 1756.

They foresaw a great increase of trade in their adhering to a punctual neutrality: they were afraid of the French by land, and jealous of the English by sea; and, perhaps, enjoyed the prospect of seeing these two proud and powerful nations humble and impoverish each other. Certain it is, the States-General protracted their answer to Mr. Yorke's memorial by such affected delays, that the Court of London perceived their intention, and, in order to avoid the mortification of a flat denial, the King ordered his Resident to acquaint the Princess Regent, that he would not insist upon his demand. The States, thus freed from their perplexity, at length delivered an answer to Mr. Yorke, in which they expatiated on the difficulties they were laid under, and thanked his Britannick Majesty for having freed them by his declaration from that embarrassment into which they were thown by his first demand and the counter memorial of the French minister. The real sentiments of those people, however, more plainly appeared in the previous resolution delivered to the States of Holland by the towns of Amsterdam, Dort, Haerlem, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Enckhuysen, declaring flatly that England was uncontrovertibly the aggressor in Europe, by seizing a considerable number of French vessels: that the threatened invasion of Great-Britain did not affect the Republick's guarantee of the Protestant succession, inasmuch as it was only intended to obtain reparation for the injury sustained by the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty; finally, that the succours demanded could be of no advantage to the King of England, as it appeared by the declaration of his Most Christian Majesty; that their granting these succours would immediately lay them under a necessity of demanding, in their turn, assistance from Great-Britain. From this way of arguing, the English may perceive what they have to expect in cases of emergency from the friendship of their nearest allies,

allies, who muſt always be furniſhed with the ſame excuſe, whenever they find it convenient or neceſſary to their own intereſt. Such a conſideration, joined to other concurring motives, ought to induce the Britiſh Legiſlature to withdraw its dependence from all foreign connexions, and provide ſuch a conſtitutional force within itſelf, as will be fully ſufficient to baffle all the efforts of an external enemy. The apprehenſions and diſtraction of the people at this juncture plainly evinced the expediency of ſuch a national force; but different parties were divided in their opinions about the nature of ſuch a proviſion. Some of the warmeſt friends of their country propoſed a well-regulated militia, as an inſtitution that would effectually anſwer the purpoſe of defending a wide extended ſea-coaſt from invaſion; while, on the other hand, this propoſal was ridiculed and refuted as impracticable or uſeleſs by all the retainers to the Court, and all the officers of the ſtanding army. In the mean time, as the experiment could not be immediately tried, and the preſent juncture demanded ſome inſtant determination, recourſe was had to a foreign remedy.

CHAP. V. 1756.

§ V. Towards the latter end of March, the King ſent a written meſſage to Parliament, intimating, that he had received repeated advices from different perſons and places, that a deſign had been formed by the French Court to invade Great-Britain or Ireland; and the great preparations of forces, ſhips, artillery, and warlike ſtores, then notoriouſly making in the ports of France oppoſite to the Britiſh coaſts, together with the language of the French miniſters in ſome foreign courts, left little room to doubt the reality of ſuch a deſign: that his Majeſty had augmented his forces both by ſea and land, and taken proper meaſures and precautions for putting his kingdom in a poſture of defence: that, in order further to ſtrengthen himſelf, he had made a requiſition of a body of Heſſian troops, purſuant to the late

BOOK III. 1756. late treaty, to be forthwith brought over, and for that purpose ordered transports to be prepared; that he doubted not of being enabled and supported by his Parliament in taking such measures as might be conducive to an end so essential to the honour of his crown, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms. This message was no sooner received, than both Houses voted, composed, and presented very warm and affectionate addresses, in which his Majesty was thanked for the requisition he had made of the Hessian troops; a measure which at any other time would have been stigmatized with all the satire and rhetorick of the opposition.

§ VI. Even this precaution was not thought sufficient to secure the island, and quiet the terrors of the people. In a few days Mr. Fox, the new minister, encouraged by the unanimity which had appeared so conspicuous in the motions for the late addresses, ventured to move again, in the House of Commons, that another address should be presented to the King, beseeching his Majesty, that for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects, against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom. There was a considerable party in the House, to whom such a motion was odious and detestable: but considering the critical situation of affairs, they were afraid that a direct opposition might expose them to a more odious suspicion: they, therefore, moved for the order of the day, and insisted on the question's being put upon that motion; but it was carried in the negative by ac onsiderable majority, which also agreed to the other proposal. The resolution of the House was communicated to the Lords, who unanimously concurred;

curred; and their joint address being presented, his Majesty assured them he would immediately comply with their request. Accordingly, such expedition was used, that in the course of the next month both Hanoverians and Hessians arrived in England, and encamped in different parts of the kingdom.—As the fears of an invasion subsided in the minds of the people, their antipathy to these foreign auxiliaries emerged. They were beheld with the eyes of jealousy, suspicion, and disdain. They were treated with contempt, reserve, and rigour. The ministry was execrated for having reduced the nation to such a low circumstance of disgrace, as that they should owe their security to German mercenaries. There were not wanting some incendiaries, who circulated hints and insinuations, that the kingdom had been purposely left unprovided; and that the natives of South-Britain had been formerly subdued and expelled by a body of Saxon auxiliaries, whom they had hired for their preservation. In a word, the doubts and suspicions of a people, naturally blunt and jealous, were inflamed to such a degree of animosity, that nothing would have restrained them from violent acts of outrage, but the most orderly, modest, and inoffensive behaviour by which both the Hanoverians and Hessians were distinguished.

§ VII. Under the cloak of an invading armament, which engrossed the attention of the British nation, the French were actually employed in preparations for an expedition, which succeeded according to their wish. In the beginning of the year, advice was received that a French squadron would soon be in a condition to sail from Toulon: this was afterwards confirmed by repeated intelligence, not only from foreign gazettes, but also from English ministers and consuls residing in Spain and Italy. They affirmed that the Toulon squadron consisted of twelve or fifteen ships of the line, with a great

number

BOOK III. 1756.

number of transports; that they were supplied with provision for two months only, consequently could not be intended for America; and that strong bodies of troops were on their march from different parts of the French dominions to Dauphiné and Provence in order to be embarked. Notwithstanding these particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of their expedition; notwithstanding the extensive and important commerce carried on by the subjects of Great-Britain in the Mediterranean; no care was taken to send thither a squadron of ships capable to protect the trade, and frustrate the designs of the enemy. That great province was left to a few inconsiderable ships and frigates, which could serve no other purpose than that of carrying intelligence from port to port, and enriching their Commanders, by making prize of merchant vessels. Nay, the ministry seemed to pay little or no regard to the remonstrance of General Blakeney, Deputy Governor of Minorca, who in repeated advices, represented the weakness of the garrison which he commanded in St. Philip's castle the chief fortress on the island. Far from strengthening the garrison with a proper reinforcement, they did not even send thither the officers belonging to it, who were in England upon leave of absence, nor give directions for any vessel to transport them, until the French armament was ready to make a descent upon that island*.

§ VIII.

* It is with pleasure we seize this opportunity of recording an instance of gallantry and patriotism in a British officer, which would have done honour to the character of a Roman tribune. Captain Cunningham, an accomplished young gentleman, who acted as engineer in second at Minorca; being preferred to a majority at home, and recalled to his regiment by an express order, had repaired with his family to Nice in Italy, where he waited for the opportunity of a ship bound for England, when he received certain intelligence that the French armament was destined for the place he had quitted. His lady, whom he tenderly loved, was just delivered, and two of his children were dangerously ill of the small-pox. He recollected that the chief engineer of Minorca was infirm, and indeed disabled by the gout

§ VIII. At length, the deſtination of the enemy's fleet being univerſally known, the miniſtry ſeemed to rouſe from their lethargy, and, like perſons ſuddenly waking, acted with hurry and precipitation. Inſtead of detaching a ſquadron that in all reſpects ſhould be ſuperior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and beſtowing the command of it upon an officer of approved courage and activity, they allotted no more than ten ſhips of the line for this ſervice, veſting the command of them in Admiral Byng, who had never met with any occaſion to ſignalize his courage, and whoſe character was not very popular in the navy: but Mr. Weſt, the ſecond in command, was a gentleman univerſally reſpected for his probity, ability, and reſolution. The ten ſhips deſtined for this expedition, were but in very indifferent order, poorly manned, and unprovided with either hoſpital or fireſhip. They ſailed from Spithead on the ſeventh day of April, having on board, as part of their complement, a regiment of ſoldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with Major-General Stuart, Lord Effingham, and Colonel Cornwallis, whoſe regiments were in garriſon at Minorca, about forty

gout, and that many things were wanting for the defence of the fortreſs. His zeal for the honour and ſervice of his country immediately triumphed over the calls of tenderneſs and of nature. He expended a conſiderable ſum of money in purchaſing timber for the platforms, and other neceſſaries for the garriſon; hired a ſhip for tranſporting them thither; and tearing himſelf from his wife and children, thus left among ſtrangers in a foreign country, embarked again for Minorca, where he knew he ſhould be in a peculiar manner expoſed to all the dangers of a furious ſiege. In the courſe of this deſperate ſervice he acquitted himſelf with that vigilance, ſkill, and active courage, which he had on divers former occaſions diſplayed, until the aſſault was given to the Queen's Baſtion; when mixing with the enemy, ſword in hand, he was diſabled in his right arm by the ſhot of a muſket and the thruſt of a bayonet. His behaviour was ſo acceptable to his Sovereign, that when he returned to England he was preferred to the rank of Colonel in the Guards. He afterwards acted as chief engineer in the attempts and deſcents which were made on the French coaſt. Though grievouſly maimed, he accepted the ſame office in the expedition to Guadaloupe, where he died univerſally regretted.

BOOK III. 1756.

inferior officers, and near one hundred recruits, as a reinforcement to St. Philip's fortreſs.

§ IX. After all the intelligence which had been received, one would imagine the government of England was ſtill ignorant of the enemy's force and deſtination; for the inſtructions delivered to Admiral Byng, imported, that on his arrival at Gibraltar, he ſhould enquire whether any French ſquadron had paſſed through the ſtraits; and that, being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably deſigned for North-America, he ſhould immediately detach Rear-Admiral Weſt to Louiſbourg, on the iſland of Cape-Breton, with ſuch a number of ſhips, as when joined with thoſe at Hallifax, would conſtitute a force ſuperior to the armament of the enemy. On the ſecond day of May, Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where he found Captain Edgecumbe, with the Princeſs Louiſa ſhip of war, and a ſloop, who informed him that the French armament, commanded by M. de la Galiſſonniere, conſiſting of thirteen ſhips of the line, with a great number of tranſports, having on board a body of fifteen thouſand land-forces, had ſailed from Toulon on the tenth day of April, and made a deſcent upon the iſland of Minorca, from whence he (Captain Edgecumbe) had been obliged to retire at their approach. General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, had received two ſucceſſive orders from the Secretary at War, with reſpect to his ſparing a battalion of troops to be tranſported by Mr. Byng, as a reinforcement to Minorca; but as the two orders appeared inconſiſtent or equivocal, a counſel of war was conſulted, and the majority were of opinion that no troops ſhould be ſent from thence to Minorca, except a detachment to ſupply the deficiency in the little ſquadron of Captain Edgecumbe, who had left a good number of his ſeamen and mariners, under the command of Captain Scroop, to aſſiſt in the defence of Fort St. Philip's. Theſe articles of intelligence the Admiral

Admiral dispatched by an express to the Lords of the Admiralty, and in his letter made use of some impolitick expressions, which, in all probability, it would have been well for him had he omitted. He said, if he had been so happy as to have arrived at Mahon before the French had landed, he flattered himself he should have been able to prevent their getting a footing on that island. He complained, that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for supplying the squadron with necessaries; that the careening wharfs, pits, and store-houses were entirely decayed, so that he should find the greatest difficulty in cleaning the ships that were foul; and this was the case with some of those he carried out from England, as well as with those which had been for some time cruising in the Mediterranean. He signified his opinion, that, even if it should be found practicable, it would be very impolitick to throw any men into St. Philip's castle, which could not be saved without a land-force sufficient to raise the siege; therefore, a small reinforcement would only add so many men to the number which must fall into the hands of the enemy. He observed, that such engineers and artillery-men in Gibraltar, as had been at Minorca, were of opinion, that it would be impossible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's, if the French had erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour, so as to bar all passage up to the sally-port of the fortress; and with this opinion he signified the concurrence of his own sentiments. The first part of this letter was a downright impeachment of the ministry, for having delayed the expedition, for having sent out ships unfit for service, and for having neglected the magazines and wharfs at Gibraltar. In the latter part he seemed to prepare them for the subsequent account of his misconduct and miscarriage. It cannot be supposed that they underwent this accusation without apprehension and resentment; and as they foresaw the loss

CHAP. V.

1756.

BOOK III. 1756.

loss of Minorca, which would not fail to excite a national clamour, perhaps they now began to take measures for gratifying their resentment, and transferring the blame from themselves to the person who had presumed to hint a disapprobation of their conduct: for this purpose they could not have found a fairer opportunity than Mr. Byng's subsequent behaviour afforded.

§ X. The Admiral being strengthened by Mr. Edgecumbe, and reinforced by a detachment from the garrison, set sail from Gibraltar on the eighth day of May and was joined off Majorca by his Majesty's ship the Phœnix, under the command of Captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence he had already received, touching the strength and destination of the French squadron. When he approached Minorca, he descried the British colours still flying at the castle of St. Philip's, and several bomb batteries playing upon it from different quarters where the French banners were displayed. Thus informed, he detached three ships a-head, with Captain Hervey, to reconnoitre the harbour's mouth, and land, if possible, a letter for General Blakeney, giving him to understand the fleet was come to his assistance. Before this attempt could be made, the French fleet appearing to the south east, and the wind blowing strong off shore, he recalled his ships, and formed the line of battle. About six o'clock in the evening, the enemy, to the number of seventeen ships, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order; but about seven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preserve that advantage, as well as to make sure of the land wind in the morning, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape-Mola. At day-light the enemy could not be descried; but two tartanes appearing close to the rear of the English squadron, they were immediately chased by signal. One escaped, and the other being taken,

taken, was found to have on board two French Captains, two Lieutenants, and about one hundred private soldiers, part of six hundred who had been sent out in tartanes the preceding day, to reinforce the enemy's squadron. This soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each side, and about two o'clock Admiral Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. At this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that Rear-Admiral West, perceiving it impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division seven points from the wind, and closing down upon the enemy, attacked them with such impetuosity, that the ships which opposed him were in a little time driven out of the line. Had he been properly sustained by the van, in all probability the British fleet would have obtained a compleat victory; but the other division did not bear down, and the enemy's centre keeping that station, Rear-Admiral West could not pursue his advantage without running the risque of seeing his communication with the rest of the line entirely cut off. In the beginning of the action, the Intrepid, in Mr. Byng's division, was so disabled in her rigging, that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position; a circumstance which obliged several others to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confusion, and for some time retarded the action. Certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ship of ninety guns, made little or no use of his artillery, but kept aloof, either from an overstrained observance of discipline, or timidity. When his Captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very coolly replied, that he would avoid the error of Admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spanish squadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire that he could not sustain. Mr. Byng,

CHAP. V.

1756.

BOOK III. 1756. Byng, on the contrary, was determined againſt acting, except with the line entire; and, on pretence of rectifying the diſorder which had happened among ſome of the ſhips, heſitated ſo long, and kept at ſuch a wary diſtance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received ſome few ſhots in his hull. M. de la Galiſſonniere ſeemed equally averſe to the continuance of the battle; part of his ſquadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and though he was rather ſuperior to the Engliſh in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chooſe to abide the conſequence of a cloſer fight with an enemy ſo expert in naval operation: he, therefore, took advantage of Mr. Byng's heſitation, and edged away with an eaſy ſail to join his van, which had been diſcomfited. The Engliſh Admiral gave chaſe; but the French ſhips being clean, he could not come up and cloſe them again, ſo they retired at their leiſure. Then he put his ſquadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of ſight.

§ XI. While he lay-to with the reſt of his fleet, at the diſtance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruiſers to look for ſome miſſing ſhips, which joined him accordingly, and made an enquiry into the condition of the ſquadron. The number of killed amounted to forty-two, including Captain Andrews, of the Defiance, and about one hundred and ſixty-eight were wounded. Three of the capital ſhips were ſo damaged in their maſts, that they could not keep the ſea, with any regard to their ſafety; a great number of the ſeamen were ill, and there was no veſſel which could be converted into an hoſpital for the ſick and wounded. In this ſituation Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land officers were preſent. He repreſented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; that they had the

advantage of ſending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the ſame time they were refreſhed and reinforced occaſionally; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort, and, therefore, they ought to make the beſt of their way back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection. They unanimouſly concurred with his ſentiments, and thither he directed his courſe accordingly. How he came to be ſo well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving General Blakeney, it is not eaſy to determine, as no experiment was made for that purpoſe. Indeed, the neglect of ſuch a trial ſeems to have been the leaſt excuſable part of his conduct; for it afterwards appeared, that the officers and ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon might have been landed at the ſally-port, without running any great riſque; and a gentleman, then in the fort, actually paſſed and repaſſed in a boat, unhurt by any of the enemy's batteries.

§ XII. Mr. Byng's letter to the Admiralty, containing a detail of this action, is ſaid to have arrived ſome days before it was made publick; and when it appeared, was curtailed of divers expreſſions, and whole paragraphs, which either tended to his own juſtification, or implied a cenſure on the conduct of his ſuperiors. Whatever uſe might have been made of this letter while it remained a ſecret to the publick we ſhall not pretend to explain: but ſure it is, that, on the ſixteenth day of June, Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders ſailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to ſuperſede the Admirals Byng and Weſt, in their commands of the Mediterranean ſquadron; and Mr. Byng's letter was not publiſhed till the twenty-ſixth day of the ſame month, when it produced all the effect which that gentleman's bittereſt enemies could have deſired. The populace took fire like a train of the moſt haſty combuſtibles, and broke out into ſuch a clamour of rage and indignation againſt the devoted Admiral, as could not have

BOOK III. 1756. have been exceeded if he had loſt the whole navy of England, and left the coaſts of the kingdom naked to invaſion. This animoſity was carefully fomented and maintained by artful emiſſaries, who mingled with all publick aſſemblies, from the drawing-room at St. James's to the mob at Charing-croſs. They expatiated upon the inſolence, the folly, the cowardice, and miſconduct of the unhappy Admiral. They even preſumed to make their Sovereign in ſome meaſure an inſtrument of their calumny, by ſuggeſting, that his Majeſty had prognoſticated Byng's miſbehaviour from the contents of his firſt letter, dated at Gibraltar. They ridiculed and refuted the reaſons he had given for returning to that fortreſs, after his ſcandalous rencounter with the French ſquadron; and, in order to exaſperate them to the moſt implacable reſentment, they exaggerated the terrible conſequences of loſing Minorca, which muſt now be ſubdued through his treachery or want of reſolution. In a word, he was devoted as the ſcape-goat of the miniſtry, to whoſe ſupine negligence, ignorance, and miſconduct, the loſs of that important fortreſs was undoubtedly owing. Byng's miſcarriage was thrown out like a barrel to the whale, in order to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cauſe of the national misfortune. In order to keep up the flame which had been kindled againſt the Admiral, recourſe was had to the loweſt artifices. Agents were employed to vilify his perſon in all publick places of vulgar reſort; and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigy.

§ XIII. The two officers who ſucceeded to the command in the Mediterranean, were accompanied by Lord Tyrawley, whom his Majeſty had appointed to ſuperſede General Fowke in the government of Gibraltar, that gentleman having incurred the diſpleaſure of the miniſtry, for not having underſtood

an order which was unintelligible. By the ſame conveyance, a letter from the Secretary to the Admiralty was tranſmitted to Mr. Byng, giving him notice that he was recalled. To this intimation he replied in ſuch a manner as denoted a conſciouſneſs of having done his duty, and a laudable deſire to vindicate his own conduct. His anſwer contained a further account of the engagement in which he was ſuppoſed to have miſbehaved, intermixed with ſome puerile calculations of the enemy's ſuperiority in weight of metal, which ſerved no other purpoſe than that of expoſing his character ſtill more to ridicule and abuſe; and he was again ſo impolitick as to hazard certain expreſſions, which added freſh fuel to the reſentment of his enemies. Directions were immediately diſpatched to Sir Edward Hawke, that Byng ſhould be ſent home in arreſt; and an order to the ſame purpoſe was lodged at every port in the kingdom: precautions, which, however, unneceſſary to ſecure the perſon of a man who longed ardently to juſtify his character by a publick trial, were yet productive of conſiderable effect in augmenting the popular odium. Admiral Byng immediately embarked in the ſhip which had carried out his ſucceſſor, and was accompanied by Mr. Weſt, General Fowke, and ſeveral other officers of that garriſon, who were alſo recalled, in conſequence of having ſubſcribed to the reſult of the council of war, which we have mentioned above. When they arrived in England, Mr. Weſt met with ſuch a gracious reception from his Majeſty as was thought due to his extraordinary merit; but Mr. Byng was committed cloſe priſoner in an apartment of Greenwich-Hoſpital.

§ XIV. In the mean time, the ſiege of St. Philip's fort in Minorca was proſecuted with unremitting vigour. The armament of Toulon, conſiſting of the fleet commanded by M. de la Galiſſonniere, and the troops under the Duke de Richelieu, arrived

BOOK III. 1756.

on the eighteenth day of April at the port of Ciudadella, on that part of the island opposite to Mahon, or St. Philip's, and immediately began to disembark their forces. Two days before they reached the island, General Blakeney had, by a packet-boat, received certain intelligence of their approach, and began to make preparations for the defence of the castle. The fort which he commanded was very extensive, surrounded with numerous redoubts, ravelins, and other outworks; and provided with subterranean galleries, mines, and traverses, cut out of the solid rock with incredible labour. Upon the whole, this was one of the best fortified places in Europe, well supplied with artillery, ammunition, and provision; and, without all doubt, might have sustained the most desperate siege, had it been defended by a numerous garrison, conducted by able engineers, under the eye and auspices of an active and skilful Commander. All these advantages, however, did not concur on this occasion. The number of troops in Minorca did not exceed four regiments, whereas the nature of the works required at least double the number; and even of these, above forty officers were absent. The chief engineer was rendered lame by the gout, and the General himself oppressed with the infirmities of old age. The natives of the island might have been serviceable as pioneers, or day-labourers, but, from their hatred to the Protestant religion, they were generally averse to the English government, although they had lived happily and grown wealthy under its influence.

§ XV. The Governor ordered his officers to beat up for volunteers in the adjacent town of St. Philip's; but few or none would enlist under his banners, and it seems he would not venture to compel them into the service. He recalled all his advanced parties; and, in particular, a company posted at Fornelles, where a small redoubt had been raised, and five companies at Ciudadella, a post fortified with two pieces

pieces of cannon, which were now withdrawn as soon as the enemy began to diſembark their forces. At the ſame time Major Cunningham was detached with a party to break down the bridges, and break up the roads between that place and St. Philip's; but the taſk of deſtroying the roads could not be performed in ſuch a hurry, on account of the hard rock which runs along the ſurface of the ground through this whole iſland; nor was there time to demoliſh the town of St. Philip's, which ſtood ſo near the fort, that the enemy could not fail to take advantage of its neighbourhood. The ſtreets ſerved them for trenches, which otherwiſe could not have been dug through the ſolid rock. Here they made a lodgment cloſe to the works; here they found convenient barracks and quarters of refreſhment, maſks for their batteries, and an effectual cover for their mortars and bombardiers. The General has been blamed for leaving the town ſtanding; but if we conſider his uncertainty concerning the deſtination of the French armament, the odious nature of ſuch a precaution, which could not fail to exaſperate the inhabitants, and the impoſſibility of executing ſuch a ſcheme after the firſt appearance of the enemy, he will be found excuſable, if not altogether blameleſs. Some houſes and windmills were actually demoliſhed, ſo as to clear the Eſplanade and the approaches. All the wine in the cellars of St. Philip's town was deſtroyed, and the butts were carried into the caſtle, where they might ſerve for gabions and traverſes. Five-and-twenty Minorquin bakers were hired, and a large number of cattle brought into the fort, for the benefit of the garriſon. The ports were walled up, the poſts aſſigned, the ſentinels placed, and all the different guards appointed. Commodore Edgecumbe, who then anchored in the harbour of Mahon, cloſe under the walls of the caſtle, ſailed away with his little ſquadron, conſiſting of the Cheſterfield, Princeſs Louiſa, Portland, and Dolphin,

BOOK III. 1756.

Dolphin, after having left all his marines, a detachment from Gibraltar, the whole crew of the Porcupine ſloop, and the greater part of the Dolphin's, as a reinforcement to the fort, under the immediate direction and command of Captain Scroop, of the Dolphin, who, with great gallantry, offered himſelf for this ſevere duty, and bravely ſignaliſed himſelf during the whole ſiege. The French Admiral might certainly have blocked up this harbour in ſuch a manner, as would have prevented the eſcape of theſe ſhips, and divers other rich merchant veſſels, which happened then to be at Mahon: but, in all probability, they purpoſely allowed them to abandon the place, which, on any emergency, or aſſault, their crews and officers would have conſiderably reinforced. The enemy were perfectly acquainted with the great extent of the works, and the weakneſs of the garriſon, from which circumſtance they derived the moſt ſanguine hopes that the place might be ſuddenly taken, without the trouble of a regular ſiege. After Mr. Edgecumbe had ſailed for Gibraltar, and General Blakeney had ordered a ſloop to be ſunk in the channel that leads to the harbour, the French ſquadron made its appearance at this part of the iſland; but, without having attempted any thing againſt the fort, fell to leeward of Cape-Mola. Next day they came in ſight again, but ſoon bore away, and never afterwards, during the whole courſe of the ſiege, approached ſo near as to give the garriſon the leaſt diſturbance.

§ XVI. On the twenty-ſecond day of April, the Governor ſent a drummer to the French General with a letter, deſiring to know hi reaſons for invading the iſland. To this an anſwer was returned by the Duke de Richelieu, declaring he was come with intention to reduce the iſland under the dominion of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by way of retaliation for the conduct of his maſter, who had ſeized and detained the ſhips belonging to the King of France

and

and his subjects. If we may judge from the first operations of this nobleman, he was but indifferently provided with engineers: for, instead of beginning his approaches on the side of St. Philip's town, close by the outworks, where he might have been screened from the fire of the garrison, his batteries were erected at Cape-Mola, on the other side of the harbour, where they were more exposed, their fire much less effectual, and indeed at too great a distance to be of any service. The fire of St. Philip's was so severe, and the cannon so well served on this quarter, that in a little time the enemy thought proper to change their plan of attack, and advance on the side of St. Philip's town, which ought to have been the first object of their consideration, especially as they could find little or no earth to fill their gabions, and open their trenches in the usual form. On the twelfth of May, about nine at night, they opened two bomb batteries, near the place where the windmills had been destroyed; and from that period an incessant fire was kept up on both sides, from mortars and cannon, the French continuing to raise new batteries in every situation from whence they could annoy the besieged.

§ XVII. On the seventeenth day of the month, the garrison were transported with joy at sight of the British squadron, command by Admiral Byng; and Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, ventured to embark in a small boat, with six oars, which passed from St. Stephen's cove, a creek on the west side of the fortification, through a shower of cannon and musketry from the enemy's post on the other side, and actually reached the open sea, his design being to join the squadron; but this being at a great distance, stretching away to the southward, and Mr. Boyd perceiving himself chased by two of the enemy's light vessels, he returned by the same route to the garrison, without having sustained the least damage. A circumstance which plainly confutes the notion of

Mr.

BOOK III. 1756.

Mr. Byng, that it was impracticable to open a communication with the garrison of St. Philip's. Next day the hopes of the besieged, which had prognosticated a naval victory to the British squadron, a speedy relief to themselves, and no less than captivity to the assailants, were considerably damped by the appearance of the French fleet, which quietly returned to their station off the harbour of Mahon. That same evening they were told by a deserter, that the English fleet had been worsted in an engagement by M. de la Galissonniere; and this information was soon confirmed by a General discharge, or *feu de joie*, through the whole French camp, to celebrate the victory they pretended to have obtained. How little soever they had reason to boast of any advantage in the action, the retreat of the English squadron was undoubtedly equivalent to a victory; for had Mr. Byng acquired and maintained the superiority at sea, the French forces, which had been disembarked in Minorca, would, in all probability, have been obliged to surrender prisoners of war to his Britannick Majesty. The case was now much altered in their favour: their squadron cruised about the island without molestation: and they daily received, by means of their transports, reinforcements of men and ammunition, as well as constant supplies of provisions.

§ XVIII. The English garrison, however mortified at finding themselves thus abandoned, resolved to acquit themselves with gallantry in the defence of the place, not without some remaining hope that the English squadron would be reinforced, and return to their relief. In the mean time, they sustained and retorted the enemy's fire with undaunted resolution. They remounted cannon, the carriages of which had been disabled: they removed them occasionally to places from whence it was judged they could do the greatest execution: they repaired breaches, restored merlins, and laboured with sur-

prising

prifing alacrity, even when they were furrounded by the numerous batteries of the foe; when their embrafures, and even the parapets, were demolifhed, and they ftood expofed not only to the cannon and mortars, but alfo to the mufquetry, which fired upon them, without ceafing, from the windows of the houfes in the town of St. Philip. By this time they were invefted with an army of twenty thoufand men, and plyed inceffantly from fixty-two battering cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four howitzers, befides the fmall arms: neverthelefs, the lofs of men within the fortrefs was very inconfiderable, the garrifon being moftly fecured in the fubterranean works, which were impenetrable to fhells or fhot. By the twenty-feventh day of June they had made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and damaged the other outworks to fuch a degree, that they determined this night to give a general affault. Accordingly, between the hours of ten and eleven, they advanced to the attack from all quarters on the land fide. At the fame time a ftrong detachment, in armed boats, attempted to force the harbour, and penetrate into the creek, called St. Stephen's Cove, to ftorm Fort Charles, and fecond the attack upon Fort Marlborough, on the farther fide of the creek, the moft detached of all the outworks. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity, and their Commander, the Duke de Richelieu, is faid to have led them up the works in perfon. Such an affault could not but be attended with great flaughter: they were mowed down, as they approached, with grape fhot and mufquetry: and feveral mines were fprung with great effect, fo that the glacis was almoft covered with the dying and the dead. Neverthelefs, they perfevered with uncommon refolution; and, though repulfed on every other fide, at length made a lodgment in the Queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon. Whether their fuccefs in this quarter was owing to the

the weakneſs of the place, or to the timidity of the defender, certain it is, the enemy were in poſſeſſion before it was known to the officers of the garriſon: for Lieutenant Colonel Jeffries, the ſecond in command, who had acquitted himſelf ſince the beginning of the ſiege with equal courage, ſkill, and activity, in his viſitation of this poſt, was ſuddenly ſurrounded and taken by a file of French grenadiers, at a time when he never dreamed they had made a lodgment. Major Cunningham, who accompanied him, met with a ſeverer fate, though he eſcaped captivity: he was run through the arm with a bayonet, and the piece being diſcharged at the ſame time, ſhattered the bones of his hand in ſuch a manner, that he was maimed for life. In this ſhocking condition he retired behind a traverſe, and was carried home to his quarters. Thus the Governor was deprived of his two principal aſſiſtants, one being taken, and the other diſabled.

§ XIX. The enemy having made themſelves maſters of Anſtruther's and the Queen's redoubts, from which perhaps they might have been diſlodged, had a vigorous effort been made for that purpoſe, before they had leiſure to ſecure themſelves, the Duke de Richelieu ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permiſſion to bury the dead, and remove the wounded. This requeſt was granted with more humanity than diſcretion, inaſmuch as the enemy took this opportunity to throw a reinforcement of men privately into the places where the lodgments had been made, and theſe penetrated into the gallery of the mines, which communicated with all the other outworks. During this ſhort ceſſation, General Blakeney ſummoned a council of war to deliberate upon the ſtate of the fort and garriſon; and the majority declared for a capitulation. The works were in many places ruined; the body of the caſtle was ſhattered; many guns were diſmounted, the embraſures and parapets demoliſhed, the

the pallisadoes broke in pieces, the garrison exhausted with hard duty and incessant watching, and the enemy in possession of the subterranean communications. Besides, the Governor had received information from Prisoners, that the Duke de Richelieu was alarmed by a report that the Marshal Duke de Belleisle would be sent to supersede him in the command, and for that reason would hazard another desperate assault, which it was the opinion of the majority the garrison could not sustain. These considerations, added to the despair of being relieved, induced him to demand a capitulation. But this measure was not taken with the unanimous consent of the counsel. Some officers observed, that the garrison was very little diminished, and still in good spirits: that no breach was made in the body of the castle, nor a single cannon erected to batter in breach: that the loss of an outwork was never deemed a sufficient reason for surrendering such a fortress: that the counterscarp was not yet taken, nor, on account of the rocky soil, could be taken, except by assault, which would cost the enemy a greater number than they had lost in their late attempt: that they could not attack the ditch, or batter in breach, before the counterscarp should be taken, and even then they must have recourse to galleries before they could pass the fossé, which was furnished with mines and countermines: finally, they suggested, that in all probability the British squadron would be reinforced, and sail back to their relief; or, if it should not return, it was the duty of the Governor to defend the place to extremity, without having any regard to the conseqences. These remarks being over-ruled, the chamade was beat, a conference ensued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garrison, in consideration of the gallant defence they had made. This it must be owned was vigorous while it lasted, as the French General was said to have lost five thousand men in the

CHAP. V.

1756.

BOOK III. 1756. the siege; whereas the loss of the garrison, which at first fell short of three thousand men, did not exceed one hundred. The capitulation imported, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, and be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar. The French were put in possession of one gate, as well as Fort-Charles and Marlborough redoubt: but the English troops remained in the other works till the seventh day of July; when they embarked. In the mean time reciprocal civilities passed between the commanders and officers of both nations.

§ XX. The articles of capitulation were no sooner executed, than Monsieur de la Galissonniere sailed back to Toulon, with all the prizes which had lain at anchor in the harbour of Mahon, since the fort of St. Philip was first invested. In all probability, the safety of himself and his whole squadron was owing to this expeditious retreat; for in a few days after the surrender of the fort, Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, augmented by five ships of the line, which had been sent from England, when the first tidings arrived of Minorca's being invaded, now made its appearance off the island: but by this time Galissonniere was retired, and the English Admiral had the mortification to see the French colours flying upon St. Philip's castle. What, perhaps, chagrined this gallant officer still more, he was not provided with frigates, sloops, and small craft to cruise round the island, and intercept the supplies which were daily sent to the enemy. Had he reached Minorca sooner, he might have discomfited the French squadron; but he could not have raised the siege of St. Philip's, because the Duke de Richelieu had received his reinforcements, and such a train of artillery as no fortification could long withstand. Indeed, if the garrison had been considerably reinforced, and the communication with it opened by sea, the defence would have been protracted, and so many vigorous sallies might

might have been made, that the assailants would have had cause to repent of their enterprize. CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XXI. When the news of this conquest was brought to Versailles, by the Count of Egmont, whom the Duke de Richelieu had dispatched for that purpose, the people of France were transported with the most extravagant joy. Nothing was seen but triumphs and processions; nothing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical encomiums upon the conqueror of Minorca, who was celebrated in a thousand poems and studied orations; while the conduct of the English was vilified and ridiculed in ballads, farces, and pasquinades. Nothing more argues the degeneracy of a warlike nation than the pride of such mean triumph, for an advantage, which, in more vigorous times, would scarce have been distinguished by the ceremony of a *Te Deum Laudamus*. Nor is this childish exultation, that disgraces the laurels of victory, confined to the kingdom of France. Truth obliges us to own, that even the subjects of Great-Britain are apt to be elevated by success into an illiberal insolence of self-applause, and contemptuous comparison. This must be condemned as a proof of unmanly arrogance, and absurd self-conceit, by all those who coolly reflect, that the events of war generally, if not always, depend upon the genius or misconduct of one individual. The loss of Minorca was severely felt in England, as a national disgrace; but, instead of producing dejection and despondence, it excited an universal clamour of rage and resentment, not only against Mr. Byng, who had retreated from the French squadron; but also in reproach of the administration, which was taxed with having neglected the security of Minorca. Nay, some politicians were inflamed into a suspicion, that this important place had been negatively betrayed into the hands of the enemy, that in case the arms of Great-Britain should prosper in other parts of the world, the French

BOOK III. 1756.

French King might have some sort of equivalent to restore for the conquests which should be abandoned at the peace. This notion, however, seems to have been conceived from prejudice and party, which now began to appear with the most acrimonious aspect, not only throughout the united kingdoms in general, but even in the Sovereign's councils.

§ XXII. Sir Edward Hawke, being disappointed in his hope of encountering La Galissonniere, and relieving the English garrison of St. Philip's, at least asserted the empire of Great-Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up the squadron in the harbour of Toulon. Understanding that the Austrian Government at Leghorn had detained an English privateer, and imprisoned the Captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, he detached two ships of war, to insist, in a peremptory manner, on the release of the ship, effects, crew, and Captain; and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from the Court of Vienna. The person in whose behalf the Admiral thus interposed, was one Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool; who, though a stranger to a sea-life, had, in the last war, equipped a privateer, and distinguished himself in such a manner, by his uncommon vigilance and valour, that, if he had been indulged with a command suitable to his genius, he would have deserved as honourable a place in the annals of the navy, as that which the French have bestowed upon their boasted Guai Trouin, Du Bart, and Thurot. An uncommon exertion of spirit was the occasion of his being detained at this juncture. While he lay at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, Commander of the St. George privateer of Liverpool, a small ship of twelve guns and eighty men, a large French xebeque, mounted with sixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, chose her station in view

view of the harbour, in order to interrupt the British commerce. The gallant Wright could not endure this insult: notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor, hoisted his sails, engaged him within sight of the shore, and after a very obstinate dispute, in which the Captain, Lieutenant, and above threescore of the men belonging to the xebeque were killed on the spot, he obliged them to sheer-off and returned to the harbour in triumph. This brave corsair would, no doubt, have signalised himself by many other exploits, had he not, in the sequel, been overtaken in the midst of his career by a dreadful storm, in which the ship foundering, he and all his crew perished.

§ XXIII. Sir Edward Hawke, having scoured the Mediterranean, and insulted the enemy's ports, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he set sail for England with part of his squadron, leaving the rest in that bay, for the protection of our commerce, which, in those parts, soon began to suffer extremely from French privateers, that now swarmed in the Mediterranean. General Blakeney had arrived, with the garrison of Minorca, at Portsmouth, in the month of November, and been received with expressions of tumultuous joy: every place through which he passed celebrated his return with bonfires, illuminations, bell-ringing, and acclamations: every mouth was opened in his praise, extolling him for the gallant defence he had made in the castle of St. Philip. In a word, the people's veneration for Blakeney increased in proportion to their abhorrence of Byng: the first was lifted into an idol of admiration, while the other sunk into an object of reproach; and they were viewed at different ends of a false perspective, through the medium of prejudice and passion; of a perspective artfully contrived, and applied by certain ministers for the purposes of self-interest

BOOK III. 1756. interest and deceit. The Sovereign is said to have been influenced by the prepossession of the s——t. Mr. Blakeney met with a gracious reception from his Majesty, who raised him to the rank of an Irish Baron, in consideration of his faithful services, while some malcontents murmured at this mark of favour, as an unreasonable sacrifice to popular misapprehension.

§ XXIV. In the beginning of the year, the measures taken by the Government in England seem to have been chiefly dictated by the dread of an invasion, from which the ministers did not think themselves secured by the guard-ships and cruisers on different parts of the coast, or the standing army of the kingdom, though reinforced by the two bodies of German auxiliaries. A considerable number of new troops was levied; the success in recruiting was not only promoted by the land-holders throughout the kingdom, who thought their estates were at stake, and for that reason encouraged their dependents to engage in the service; but also in a great measure owing to a dearth of corn, which reduced the lower class of labourers to such distress, that some insurrections were raised, and many inlisted with a view to obtain a livelihood, which otherwise they could not earn. New ships of war were built, and daily put in commission; but it was found impracticable to man them, without having recourse to the odious and illegal practice of impressing sailors, which must always be a reproach to every free people. Notwithstanding large bounties, granted by the government to volunteers, it was found necessary to lay an embargo upon all shipping, and impress all the seamen that could be found, without any regard to former protections; so that all the merchant ships were stripped of their hands, and foreign commerce for some time wholly suspended. Nay, the expedient of compelling men into the service was carried to an unusual degree of oppression; for rewards were publickly

publickly offered to thoſe who ſhould diſcover where any ſeamen lay concealed: ſo that thoſe unhappy people were in ſome reſpects treated like felons, dragged from their families and connexions to confinement, mutilation, and death, and totally cut off from the enjoyment of that liberty, which, perhaps, at the expence of their lives, their own arms had helped to preſerve, in favour of their ungrateful country *. CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XXV. About eighty ſhips of the line and threeſcore frigates were already equipped, and conſiderable bodies of land-forces aſſembled, when, on the third day of February, a proclamation was iſſued, requiring all officers, civil and military, upon the firſt appearance of any hoſtile attempt to land upon the coaſts of the kingdom, immediately to cauſe all horſes, oxen, or cattle, which might be fit for draught or burthen, and not actually employed in the King's ſervice, or in the defence of the country, and alſo (ſo far as might be practicable) all other cattle and proviſions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at leaſt from the place where ſuch hoſtile attempt ſhould be made, and to ſecure the ſame, ſo as that they might not fall into the hands or power of thoſe who ſhould make ſuch attempt: regard being had, however, that the reſpective owners ſhould ſuffer as little damage as might be conſiſtent with the publick ſafety.

§ XXVI. As the miniſtry were determined to make their chief efforts againſt the enemy in North-America, where the firſt hoſtilities had been committed, and where the ſtrongeſt impreſſion could be made,

* At this juncture, a number of publick ſpirited merchants of the city of London, and others, formed themſelves in a very laudable aſſociation, under the name of the Marine Society, and contributed conſiderable ſums of money for equipping ſuch orphans, friendleſs, and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in the ſervice of the navy. In conſequence of this excellent plan, which was executed with equal zeal and diſcretion, many thouſands were reſcued from miſery, and rendered uſeful members of that ſociety, of which they muſt have been the bane and reproach, without this humane interpoſition.

BOOK III. 1756. made, a detachment of two regiments was sent thither under the conduct of General Abercrombie, appointed as successor to General Shirley, whom they recalled, as a person no ways qualified to conduct military operations: nor, indeed, could any success in war be expected from a man who had not been trained to arms, nor ever acted but in a civil capacity. But the command in chief of all the forces in America was conferred upon the Earl of Loudoun, a nobleman of an amiable character, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country. Over and above this command, he was now appointed Governor of Virginia, and Colonel of a Royal American regiment, consisting of four battalions, to be raised in that country, and disciplined by officers of experience, invited from foreign service. Mr. Abercrombie set sail for America in March; but the Earl of Loudoun, who directed in chief the plan of operations, and was vested with power and authority little inferior to those of a Viceroy, did not embark till the latter end of May.

§ XXVII. All these previous measures being taken, his Majesty, in the course of the same month, thought proper to publish a declaration of war* against

* When the French Ambassador returned to London, he proposed that orders should be immediately dispatched to the English Governors in America, with express orders to desist from any new undertaking, and all acts of hostility; but with regard to the lands on the Ohio, to put, without delay, matters on the same footing in which they stood before the late war, that the respective claims of both nations might be amicably referred to the Commissaries at Paris. The British Court agreed to the cessation of hostilities, and the discussion of the disputes by the ministers of the two crowns, on condition that all the possessions in America should be previously put in the situation prescribed by the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French ministry, instead of complying with this condition, produced an evasive draft of a preliminary convention, and this was answered by a counter-proposal: At length the Ambassador of France demanded, as preliminary conditions, that Great-Britain would renounce all claim to the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes that discharge themselves

against the French King, importing, that, since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the usurpations and encroachments made upon the British territories, in America, had been notorious: That his Britannick Majesty had, in divers serious representations to the Court of Versailles, complained of these repeated acts of violence, and demanded satisfaction; but notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the French King, that every thing should be settled agreeably to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral islands in the West-Indies should be effected, the execution of these assurances, and of the treaties on which they were founded, had been evaded under the most frivolous pretences: That the unjustifiable practices of the French Governors, and officers acting under their authority, were still continued, until they broke out in open acts of hostility

CHAP. V.

1756.

themselves into that river; cede to the French twenty leagues of country lying along the river of Fundy, which discovers Acadia, or Nova-Scotia; and all the land between the rivers Ohio and Ouabache. A memorial was afterwards presented on the same subject, including the affair of the neutral islands in the West-Indies; but this was amply refuted in another piece, in which the British ministry observed, that even at this very opening of the commission established in Paris, for terminating amicably the disputes in North-America, the French invaded Nova Scotia, erected three forts in the heart of that Province, and would have destroyed the English settlement at Halifax, had they not been prevented: That the like hostilities were committed upon his Britannick Majesty's subjects on the Ohio and Indian lakes, where the Governors appointed by the French King, without any shadow of right, prohibited the English from trading; seised their traders by force, and sent them prisoners to France; invaded the territories of Virginia, attacked a fort that covered its frontier, and to secure their usurpations, erected with an armed force, a chain of forts on the lands which they had invaded: that his Britannick Majesty had complained of these hostilities to the Court of Versailles, but without effect; so that he found himself obliged to provide for the security of his subjects; and as the encroachments made by France were hostile, it could never be unlawful, or irreconcileable with the assurance of his Majesty's peaceable disposition, to repel an aggressor; and that the same motive of self-defence had forced him to seise the French ships and sailors, in order to deprive that Court of the means of making an invasion, with which their ministers in all the courts of Europe had menaced England.

in

BOOK III. 1756.

in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four; when, in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, without any previous notice given, or application made, a body of French troops, commanded by an officer bearing the French King's commiſſion, attacked in an hoſtile manner, and took poſſeſſion of an Engliſh fort on the river Ohio, in North-America: That great naval armaments were prepared in the ports of France, and a conſiderable body of French troops embarked for that country: That although the French Ambaſſador was ſent back to England with ſpecious profeſſions of a deſire to accommodate theſe differences, it appeared their real deſign was only to amuſe and gain time for the paſſage of theſe ſupplies and re-inforcements, which they hoped would ſecure the ſuperiority of the French forces in America, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppreſſive projects into execution: That in conſequence of the juſt and neceſſary meaſures taken by the King of Great-Britain for preventing the ſucceſs of ſuch a dangerous deſign, the French Ambaſſador was immediately recalled from England, the fortifications of Dunkirk were enlarged, great bodies of troops marched down to the ſea-coaſts of France, and the Britiſh dominions threatened with an invaſion: That though the King of England, in order to fruſtrate theſe intentions, had given orders for ſeiſing at ſea the ſhips of the French King and his ſubjects, yet he had hitherto contented himſelf with detaining thoſe ſhips which had been taken, and preſerving their cargoes entire, without proceeding to confiſcation: but it being at laſt evident from the hoſtile invaſion of Minorca, that the Court of Verſailles was determined to reject all propoſals of accommodation, and carry on the war with the utmoſt violence, his Britannick Majeſty could no longer conſiſtently with the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his ſubjects, remain within thoſe bounds, which, from a deſire of peace he had hitherto

hitherto obferved. A denunciation of war followed in the ufual form, and was concluded with an affurance, that all the French fubjects refiding in Great-Britain and Ireland, who fhould demean themfelves dutifully to the government, might depend upon its protection, and be fafe in their perfons and effects.

§ XXVIII. In the beginning of June the French King declared war in his turn againft his Britannick Majefty, and his declaration was couched in terms of uncommon afperity. He artfully threw a fhade over the beginning of hoftilities in North-America, referring to a memorial which had been delivered to the feveral courts of Europe, containing a fummary of thofe facts which related to the prefent war, and the negociations by which it had been preceded. He infifted on the attack made by the King of England, in the year one thoufand feven hundred and fifty-four, on the French poffeffions in North-America: and afterwards by the Englifh navy on the navigation and commerce of the Englifh fubjects, in contempt of the law of nations, and direct violation of treaties. He complained that the French foldiers and failors underwent the harfheft treatment in the Britifh ifles, exceeding thofe bounds which are prefcribed to the moft rigorous rights of war, by the law of nature, and common humanity. He affirmed, that while the Englifh miniftry, under the appearance of fincerity, impofed upon the French Ambaffador with falfe proteftations, others diametrically oppofite to thefe deceitful affurances of a fpeedy accommodation were actually carrying into execution in North-America: That while the Court of London employed every caballing art, and fquandered away the fubfidies of England, to inftigate other powers againft France, his Moft Chriftian Majefty did not even afk of thefe powers the fuccours which guarantees and defenfive treaties authorifed

BOOK III. 1756.

rifed him to demand: but recommended to them fuch meafures only as tended to their own peace and fecurity: That while the Englifh navy, by the moft odious violences, and fometimes by the vileft artifices made captures of French veffels, navigating in full fecurity under the fafeguard of publick faith, his Moft Chriftian Majefty releafed an Englifh frigate taken by a French fquadron; and Britifh veffels traded to the ports of France without moleftation. That the ftriking contraft formed by thefe different methods of proceeding would convince all Europe, that one court was guided by motives of jealoufy, ambition, and avarice, and that the conduct of the other was founded on principles of honour, juftice, and moderation: That the vague imputations contained in the King of England's declaration, had in reality no foundation; and the very manner in which they were fet forth would prove their futility and falfehood: That the mention made of the works at Dunkirk, and the troops affembled on the coafts of the ocean, implied the moft grofs attempt to deceive mankind into a belief that thefe were the points which determined the King of England to iffue orders for feizing the French veffels; whereas the works at Dunkirk were not begun till after two French fhips of war had been taken by an Englifh fquadron; and depredations had been committed fix months upon the fubjects of France before the firft battalions began their march for the fea fide. In a word, the Moft Chriftian King, laying afide that politenefs and decorum on which his people value themfelves above all the nations upon the face of the earth, very roundly taxes his brother Monarch's adminiftration with piracy, perfidy, inhumanity, and deceit. A charge conveyed in fuch reproachful terms, againft one of the moft refpectable crowned heads in Europe, will appear the more extraordinary and injurious, if we confider that the accufers were well acquainted with the falfity of their own imputations,

and

and at the ſame time conſcious of having practiſed those very arts which they affected ſo much to decry. For after all, it muſt be allowed, that nothing could be juſtly urged againſt the Engliſh government, with reſpect to France, except the omiſſion of a mere form, which other nations might interpret into an irregularity, but could not conſtrue into perfidious dealing, as the French had previouſly violated the peace by their inſolence and encroachments.

CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XXIX. Whatever might have been the opinion of other nations, certain it is, the ſubjects of Great-Britain heartily approved of the hoſtilities committed and intended againſt a people, whom they have always conſidered as their natural enemies, and the incendiaries of Europe. They chearfully contributed to the expenſe of armaments*, and ſeemed to approve of their deſtination, in hopes of being able to wipe off the diſgraces they had ſuſtained in the defeat of Braddock, and the loſs of Minorca. The laſt event made a deep impreſſion upon the minds of the community. An addreſs was preſented to the King by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London, containing ſtrong hints to the diſadvantage of the miniſtry. They expreſſed their apprehenſion, that the loſs of the important fortreſs of St. Philip and iſland of Minorca, poſſeſſions of the utmoſt conſequence to the commerce and naval ſtrength of Great-Britain, without any attempt by timely and effectual ſuccours to prevent or defeat an attack, after ſuch early notice of the enemy's intentions, and when his Majeſty's navy was ſo evidently ſuperior to theirs, would be an indelible reproach on the honour of the Britiſh

* Immediately after the declaration of war, the French ſhips and cargoes which had been taken were tried, and condemned as legal prizes, expoſed to publick ſale, and their produce lodged in the Bank; but in what manner this money, amounting to a large ſum, was diſtributed or employed, we have not been able to diſcover.

BOOK III. 1756. nation. They expatiated upon the imminent danger to which the British possessions in America were exposed, by the mismanagement and delays which had attended the defence of those invaluable colonies, the object of the present war, the principal source of the wealth and strength of these kingdoms. They lamented the want of a constitutional well-regulated militia, the most natural and certain defence against all invaders whatsoever. They signified their hope, that the authors of the late losses and disappointments would be detected, and brought to condign punishment: that his Majesty's known intentions of protecting and defending his subjects in their rights and possessions might be faithfully and vigorously carried into execution; and the large supplies, so necessarily demanded, and so chearfully granted, might be religiously applied to the defence of these kingdoms, their colonies, and their commerce, as well as to the annoyance of their inveterate and perfidious enemies, the only sure means of obtaining a lasting and honourable peace. In answer to this address the King assured them, that he would not fail to do justice upon any persons who should have been wanting in their duty to him and their country; to inforce obedience and discipline in his fleets and armies; and to support the authority and respect due to his government. Remonstrances of the same kind were presented by different counties and corporations; and the populace clamoured aloud for enquiry and justice.

§ XXX. The first victim offered to the enraged multitude was the unfortunate General Fowke, who had been Deputy-Governor of Gibraltar, and behaved with remarkable conduct and integrity in the exercise of that important office, till that period, when he fell under the displeasure of the government. He was now brought to trial before a board of general officers, and accused of having disobeyed the orders he had received from the Secretary at war

in three successive letters*, touching the relief of Minorca. Mr. Fowke alledged in his own defence that the orders were confused and contradictory, and implied a discretionary power: that the whole number of his garrison did not exceed two thousand six hundred men, after he had spared two hundred

* *To Lieut. Gen.* Fowke, *or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majesty's garrison of* Gibraltar.

SIR, *War-Office*, March 21, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you receive into your garrison, Lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there; and in case you should apprehend that the French intend to make any attempt upon his Majesty's island of Minorca, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel and Major; such Lieutenant-Colonel and Major to be the eldest in your garrison, to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, as the Admiral shall think expedient, who is to carry them to the said island. I am,

Your humble servant, B.

To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, *or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief at* Gibraltar.

SIR, *War-Office*, March 26, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, in case the island of Minorca should be in any likelihood of being attacked, that you make a detachment from the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, for the relief of that place, to be put on board the fleet, at the disposition of the Admiral: such Lieutenant-Colonel and Major to be the eldest in your garrison.

To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, *or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majesty's garrison in* Gibraltar.

SIR, *War-Office*, April 1, 1756.

IT is his Majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison the women and children belonging to Lord Robert Bertie's regiment.

To Lieut. Gen. Fowke, *or, the Commander in Chief at* Gibraltar.

SIR, *War-Office*, May 12, 1756.

I wrote to you by General Steward: if that order is not complied with, then you are now to make a detachment of seven hundred men out of your own regiment and Guise's; and also another detachment out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But if that order has been complied

BOOK III. 1756. dred and seventy-five to the ſhips commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe; that the ordinary duty of the garriſon requiring eight hundred men, the whole number was not ſufficient for three reliefs: that, if he had detached a battalion on board the fleet, he ſhould not have had above two reliefs, at a time when he believed the place was in danger of being attacked, for good reaſons, which he did not think himſelf at liberty to mention; that his orders being doubtful, he held a council of war, which was of opinion, that as undoubted intelligence was received of the French army's being landed at Minorca, to the number of between thirteen and ſixteen thouſand men, and that a French ſquadron of ſixteen ſhips was ſtationed off the harbour, the ſending a detachment equal to a battalion from Gibraltar would be an ineffectual ſupply for the relief of the place, and a weakening of the garriſon from which they muſt be ſent. He obſerved, that ſuppoſing the orders to have been poſitive, and ſeven hundred men detached to Minorca, the number remaining at Gibraltar would not have exceeded one thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſix: a deduction of ſeven hundred more, according to the order of May the twelfth, would have left a remainder of eight hundred and fifty-ſix: that the men daily on duty in the garriſon, including artificers and labourers in the King's works, amounted to eight hundred and thirty-nine; ſo that if he had complied with the orders as they arrived, he would not have had more than ſeventeen men over and above the number

plied with, then you are to make only one detachment of ſeven hundred men, to be commanded by another Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, and to ſend it to Mahon; and you are alſo to detain all ſuch empty veſſels as ſhall come into your harbour, and keep them in readineſs for any further tranſportation of troops. I have alſo his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland's commands, to deſire that you will keep your garriſon as alert as poſſible, during this critical time, and give ſuch other aſſiſtance as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or endanger your own garriſon.

neceſſary

neceſſary for the daily work of the garriſon: thus the important fortreſs of Gibraltar muſt, at this critical conjuncture, have been left almoſt naked and defenceleſs to the attempts of the enemy; and had thoſe detachments been actually ſent abroad, it afterwards appeared that they could not have been landed on the iſland of Minorca. The order tranſmitted to General Fowke to detain all empty veſſels, for a further tranſportation of troops, ſeems to have been ſuperfluous; for it can hardly be ſuppoſed he could have occaſion for them, unleſs to embark the whole garriſon, and abandon the place. It ſeems likewiſe to have been unneceſſary to exhort the General to keep his garriſon as alert as poſſible, during that critical time; inaſmuch as it would have been impoſſible for the men to have enjoyed the leaſt repoſe or intermiſſion of duty, had the orders been punctually and literally obeyed. What other aſſiſtance it might have been in the Governor's power to give for the relief of Minorca, or in what manner he could avoid fatiguing his garriſon, while there was an impoſſibility of relieving the guards, it is not eaſy to comprehend. Be that as it may, when the trial was finiſhed, and the queſtion put to acquit or ſuſpend for one year, the court was equally divided; and in ſuch caſes the caſting vote being veſted in the preſident, he threw it into the ſcale againſt the priſoner, whom his Majeſty thought fit to diſmiſs from his ſervice.

§ XXXI. The expectation of the publick was now eagerly turned towards America, the chief, if not the ſole ſcene of our military operations. On the twenty-fifth day of June, Mr. Abercrombie arrived at Albany, the frontier of New-York, and aſſumed the command of the forces there aſſembled, conſiſting of two regiments which had ſerved under Braddock, two battalions raiſed in America, two regiments now tranſported from England, four independent companies which had been many years maintained

BOOK III. 1756. maintained in New-York, the New-Jersey regiment, four companies levied in North-Carolina, and a body of provincial forces raised by the government of New-England. Those to the southward, including Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had not yet determined on any regular plan of operation, and were moreover hard pressed in defending their western frontier from the French and Indians, who, in skulking parties, made sudden irruptions upon their unguarded settlements, burning, plundering, and massacring with the most savage inhumanity. As for South Carolina, the proportion of negro-slaves to the number of white inhabitants was so great in that colony, that the government could not, with any regard to the safety of the province, spare any reinforcement for the general enterprize. The plan of this undertaking had been settled in the preceding year in a council of war, held at New-York. There it was resolved to attack the fort of Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new fortresses on the Ohio: to reduce Ticonderago and Crown-Point, so that the frontier of New-York might be delivered from the danger of an invasion, and Great-Britain become master of the lake Champlain, over which the forces might be transported in any future attempt: to besiege Fort Du Quesne upon the Ohio; and to detach a body of troops by the river Kennebec, to alarm the capital of Canada. This plan was too extensive for the number of troops which had been prepared: the season was too far advanced before the regiments arrived from England, the different colonies were divided in their opinions, and Mr. Abercrombie postponed the execution of any important scheme till the arrival of Lord Loudoun, who was daily expected. The reasons that delayed the reinforcement, and detained his lordship so long, we do not

pretend to explain; though we may be allowed to observe, that many fair opportunities have been loſt, by the neglect and procraſtination of an Engliſh miniſtry. Certain it is, the unaccountable delay of this armament rendered it uſeleſs for a whole year, afforded time and leiſure to the enemy to take their precautions againſt any ſubſequent attack, and, in the mean time, to proceed unmoleſted in diſtreſſing the Britiſh ſettlements. Even before this period, they had attacked and reduced a ſmall poſt in the country of the Five Nations, occupied by twenty-five Engliſhmen, who were cruelly butchered to a man, in the midſt of thoſe Indians whom Great-Britain had long numbered among her allies. CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XXXII. Soon after this expedition, having received intelligence that a conſiderable convoy of proviſions and ſtores, for the garriſon of Oſwego, would in a little time ſet out from Schenectady, and be conveyed in batteaux up the river Onondaga, they formed an ambuſcade among the woods and thickets on the north ſide of that river; but underſtanding the convoy had paſſed before they reached the place, they reſolved to wait the return of the detachment. Their deſign, however, was fruſtrated by the vigilance and valour of Colonel Bradſtreet, who expected ſuch an attempt, and had taken his meaſures accordingly. On the third day of July, while he ſtemmed the ſtream of the river, with his batteaux formed into three diviſions, they were ſaluted with the Indian war-whoop, and a general diſcharge of muſquetry from the north ſhore. Bradſtreet immediately ordered his men to land on the oppoſite bank, and with a few of the foremoſt took poſſeſſion of a ſmall iſland, where he was forthwith attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpoſe; but theſe were ſoon repulſed. Another body having paſſed a mile higher, he advanced to them at the head of two hundred men, and fell upon them, ſword in hand, with ſuch vigour, that many were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt driven into the river

BOOK III. 1756. river with ſuch precipitation, that a conſiderable number of them were drowned. Having received information that a third body of them had paſſed at a ford ſtill higher, he marched thither without heſitation, and purſued them to the other ſide, where they were entirely routed and diſperſed. In this action, which laſted near three hours, about ſeventy of the batteau men were killed or wounded, but the enemy loſt double the number killed, and above ſeventy taken priſoners. In all probability the whole detachment of the French, amounting to ſeven hundred men, would have been cut off, had not a heavy rain interpoſed, and diſabled Colonel Bradſtreet from following his blow; for that ſame night he was joined by Captain Patten with his grenadiers, in his march from Oneida to Oſwego, and next morning reinforced with two hundred men, detached to his aſſiſtance from the garriſon of Oſwego; but by this time the rivulets were ſo ſwelled by the rain, that it was found impracticable to purſue the enemy through the woods and thickets. Patten and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oſwego, while Bradſtreet purſued his voyage to Schenectady, from whence he repaired to Albany, and communicated to General Abercrombie the intelligence he had received from the priſoners, that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the eaſtern ſide of the lake Ontario, provided with artillery, and all other implements to beſiege the fort of Oſwego.

§ XXXIII. In conſequence of this information, Major-General Webb was ordered to hold himſelf in readineſs to march with one regiment to the relief of that garriſon; but, before they could be provided with neceſſaries, the Earl of Loudoun arrived at the head-quarters at Albany, on the twenty-ninth day of July. The army at this time is ſaid to have conſiſted of regular troops to the number of two thouſand ſix hundred, about ſeven thouſand provincials, ſuppoſed to be in readineſs to march from

Fort-

Fort-William-Henry, under the command of General Winſlow, over and above a conſiderable number of batteau-men at Albany and Schenectady. The garriſon at Oſwego amounted to fourteen hundred ſoldiers, beſides three hundred workmen and ſailors, either in the fort, or poſted in ſmall parties between the fort and place called Burnet's Field, to ſecure a ſafe paſſage through the country of the Six Nations, upon whoſe friendſhip there was no longer any reliance. By the beſt accounts received of the enemy's force, they had about three thouſand men at Crown-Point and Ticonderoga upon the lake Champlain: but their chief ſtrength was collected upon the banks of the lake Ontario, where their purpoſe undoubtedly was to reduce the Engliſh fort at Oſwego. The immediate object, therefore, of Lord Loudoun's attention was the relief of this place; but his deſign was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the province of New-York, and other northern governments, who were much more intent upon the reduction of Crown-Point, and the ſecurity of their own frontiers, which they apprehended was connected with this conqueſt. They inſiſted upon Winſlow's being joined by ſome regiments of regular troops before he ſhould march againſt this fortreſs; and ſtipulated that a body of reſerve ſhould be detained at Albany, for the defence of that frontier, in caſe Winſlow ſhould fail in his enterprize, and be defeated. At length they agreed, that the regiment which Mr. Abercrombie had deſtined for that purpoſe ſhould be detached for the relief of Oſwego: and on the twelfth day of Auguſt Major-General Webb began his march with it from Albany; but on his arrival at the Carrying-place, between the Mohock's river and Wood's creek, he received the diſagreeable news that Oſwego was taken, and the garriſon made priſoners of war. Mr. Webb, apprehending himſelf in danger of being attacked by the beſieging army, began immediately to render the

BOOK III. 1756. creek impaſſable, even to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the ſtream; while the enemy, ignorant of his numbers, and apprehenſive of a like viſitation from him, took the very ſame method of preventing his approach: in conſequence of this apprehenſion, he was permitted to retire unmoleſted.

§ XXXIV. The loſs of the two ſmall forts, called Ontario and Oſwego, was a conſiderable national misfortune. They were erected on the ſouth ſide of the great lake Ontario, ſtanding on the oppoſite ſides, at the mouth of the Onondago river, that diſcharges itſelf into the lake, and conſtituted a poſt of great importance, where veſſels had been built, to cruize upon the lake, which is a kind of inland ſea, and interrupt the commerce as well as the motions and deſigns of the enemy. The garriſon, as we have already obſerved, conſiſted of fourteen hundred men, chiefly militia and new-raiſed recruits, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, an officer of courage and experience: but the ſituation of the forts was very ill choſen; the materials moſtly timber or logs of wood; the defences wretchedly contrived, and unfiniſhed; and, in a word, the place altogether untenable againſt any regular approach. Such were the forts which the enemy wiſely reſolved to reduce. Being under no apprehenſion for Crown-Point, they aſſembled a body of troops, conſiſting of thirteen hundred regulars, ſeventeen hundred Canadians, and a conſiderable number of Indian auxiliaries, under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, a vigilant and enterpriſing officer, to whom the conduct of the ſiege was entruſted by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New-France. The firſt ſtep taken by Montcalm was to block up Oſwego by water with two large armed veſſels, and poſt a ſtrong body of Canadians on the road between Albany and the forts, to cut off all communication of ſuccour and intelli-

gence,

gence. In the mean time, he embarked his artillery and ftores upon the lake, and landed them in the bay of Nixouri, the place of general rendezvous. At another creek, within half a league of Ofwego, he erected a battery for the protection of his veffels, and on the twelfth day of Auguft, at midnight, after his difpofitions had been made, he opened the trenches before Fort-Ontario. The garrifon having fired away all their fhells and ammunition, fpiked up the cannon, and deferting the fort, retired next day acrofs the river into Ofwego, which was even more expofed than the other, efpecially when the enemy had taken poffeffion of Ontario, from whence they immediately began to fire without intermiffion. Colonel Mercer being, on the thirteenth, killed by a cannon-ball, the fort deftitute of all cover, the officers divided in opinion, and the garrifon in confufion, they next day demanded a capitulation, and furrendered prifoners of war, on condition that they fhould be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. Thefe conditions, however, the Marquis did not punctually obferve. The Britifh officers and foldiers were infulted by the favage Indians, who robbed them of their clothes and baggage, maffacred feveral men as they ftood defencelefs on the parade, affaffinated Lieutenant De la Court as he lay wounded in his tent, under the protection of a French officer, and barbaroufly fcalped all the fick people in the hofpital: finally, Montcalm, in direct violation of the articles, as well as in contempt of common humanity, delivered up above twenty men of the garrifon to the Indians, in lieu of the fame number they had loft during the fiege; and, in all probability, thefe miferable captives were put to death by thofe barbarians with the moft excruciating tortures, according to the execrable cuftom of the country. Thofe who countenance the perpetration of cruelties, at which human nature fhudders with horror, ought to be branded as in-

BOOK III. 1756.

famous to all posterity. Such, however, were the trophies that, in the course of the American war, distinguished the operations of a people who pique themselves upon politeness, and the virtues of humanity. The prisoners taken at Oswego, after having been thus barbarously treated, were conveyed in batteaux to Montreal, where they had no reason to complain of their reception; and before the end of the year, they were exchanged. The victors immediately demolished the two forts (if they deserved that denomination) in which they found one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and provision, besides two sloops, and two hundred batteaux, which likewise fell into their hands. Such an important magazine, deposited in a place altogether indefensible, and without the reach of immediate succour, was a flagrant proof of egregious folly, temerity, and misconduct.

§ XXXV. The Earl of Loudoun finding the season too far-advanced to admit of any enterprize against the enemy, exerted all his endeavours in making preparations for an early campaign in the spring, securing the frontiers of the English colonies, in forming an uniform plan of action, and promoting a spirit of harmony among the different governments, which had been long divided by jarring interests, and other sources of dissension. Meanwhile, the forts Edward and William-Henry were put in a proper posture of defence, and secured with numerous garrisons; and the forces put into winter-quarters at Albany, where comfortable barracks were built for that purpose. Fort-Granvilla, on the confines of Pennsylvania, an inconsiderable block-house, was surprised by a party of French and Indians, who made the garrison prisoners, consisting of two-and-twenty soldiers, with a few women and children. These they loaded with flour and provision, and drove them into captivity; but the fort they

reduced

reduced to ashes. Many shocking murders were perpetrated upon defenceless people, without distinction of age or sex, in different parts of the frontiers; but these outrages were in some measure balanced by the advantages resulting from a treaty of peace, which the Governor of Pennsylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians, a powerful tribe that dwell upon the river Sasquehanna, forming, as it were, a line along the southern skirts of the province. At the same time the Governor of Virginia secured the friendship and alliance of the Cherokees and Catawbas, two powerful nations adjoining to that colony, who were able to bring three thousand fighting men into the field. All these circumstances considered, Great-Britain had reason to expect that the ensuing campaign would be vigorously prosecuted in America, especially as a fresh reinforcement of troops, with a great supply of warlike stores, were sent to that country in fourteen transports, under convoy of two ships of war, which failed from Cork, in Ireland, about the beginning of November.

§ XXXVI. No action of great importance distinguished the naval transactions of this year on the side of America. In the beginning of June, Captain Spry, who commanded a small squadron, cruising off Louisbourg, in the island of Cape-Breton, took the Arc en Ciel, a French ship of fifty guns, having on board near six hundred men, with a large quantity of stores and provisions for the garrison. He likewise made prize of another French ship, with seventy soldiers, two hundred barrels of powder, two large brass mortars, and other stores of the like destination. On the twenty-seventh day of July Commodore Holmes, being in the same latitude, with two large ships and a couple of sloops, engaged two French ships of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to sheer off, after an obstinate dispute. A great number of privateers were equipped in this country, as well as in the West-India islands belonging to the

Crown

BOOK III. 1756. Crown of Great-Britain; and as those seas swarmed with French vessels, their cruises proved very advantageous to the adventurers.

§ XXXVII. Scenes of higher import were this year acted by the British arms in the East-Indies. The cessation of hostilities between the English and French Companies on the peninsula of Indus, though it encouraged Mr. Clive to visit his native country, was not of long duration; for in a few months both sides recommenced their operations, no longer as auxiliaries to the Princes of the country, but as principals and rivals, both in arms and commerce. Major Laurence, who now enjoyed the chief command of the English force, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; and prosecuted his success with such vigor, as, in all probability, would in a little time have terminated the war according to his own wish, when the progress of his arms was interrupted and suspended by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cause of which is not easily explained: for extraordinary pains have been taken to throw a veil over some transactions, from whence this calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

§ XXXVIII. The old Suba or Viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, dying in the month of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, was succeeded by his adopted son, Sur Raja al Dowlat, a young man of violent passions, without principle, fortitude, or good faith, who began his administration with acts of perfidy and violence. In all probability, his design against the English settlements was suggested by his rapacious disposition, on a belief that they abounded with treasure; as the pretences which he used for commencing hostilities were altogether inconsistent, false and frivolous. In the month of May, he caused the English factory at Cassimbuzzar to be invested, and inviting Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, to a conference, under the sanction of a safe conduct, detained him as prisoner; then,

then, by means of fraud and force intermingled, made himself master of the factory. This exploit being achieved, he made no secret of his design to deprive the English of all their settlements. With this view he marched to Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army, and invested the place, which was then in no posture of defence.

CHAP. V.

1756.

§ XXXIX. The Governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and with some principal persons residing in the settlement, took refuge on board a ship in the river, carrying along with them their most valuable effects, and the books of the company. Thus the defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell, the second in command, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garrison, maintained it with uncommon courage and resolution against several attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the castle. Then he was obliged to submit; and the Suba, or Viceroy, promised on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison. Nevertheless, they were all driven, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons of both sexes, into a place called the Black Hole Prison, a cube of about eighteen feet, walled up to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from which they could expect the least refreshing air, and open to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation. The humane reader will conceive with horror the miserable situation to which they must have been reduced, when thus stewed up in a close sultry night under such a climate as that of Bengal, especially when he reflects that many of them were wounded, and all of them fatigued with hard duty. Transported with rage to find themselves thus barbarously cooped up in a place where they must be exposed to suffocation, those hapless victims endeavoured to force open the door,

BOOK III. 1756.

door, that they might ruſh upon the ſwords of the barbarians by whom they were ſurrounded: but all their efforts were ineffectual; the door was made to open inwards, and being once ſhut upon them, the crowd preſſed upon it ſo ſtrongly as to render all their endeavours abortive: then they were overwhelmed with diſtraction and deſpair. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himſelf at one of the windows, accoſted a Jemmautdaar, or ſerjeant of the Indian guard, and having endeavoured to excite his compaſſion, by drawing a pathetick picture of their ſufferings, promiſed to gratiſy him with a thouſand rupees in the morning, if he could find means to remove one half of them into a ſeparate apartment. The ſoldier, allured by the promiſe of ſuch a reward, aſſured him he would do his endeavour for their relief, and retired for that purpoſe, but in a few minutes returned, and told him that the Suba, by whoſe order alone ſuch a ſtep could be taken, was aſleep, and no perſon durſt diſturb his repoſe. By this time a profuſe ſweat had broke out on every individual, and this was attended with an inſatiable thirſt, which became the more intolerable as the body was drained of its moiſture. In vain thoſe miſerable objects ſtripped themſelves of their clothes, ſquatted down on their hams, and fanned the air with their hats, to produce a refreſhing undulation. Many were unable to riſe again from this poſture, but falling down were trod to death, or ſuffocated. The dreadful ſymptom of thirſt was now accompanied with a difficulty of reſpiration, and every individual gaſped for breath. Their deſpair became outrageous: again they attempted to force the door, and provoke the guard to fire upon them by execration and abuſe. The cry of "Water! Water!" iſſued from every mouth. Even the Jemmautdaar was moved to compaſſion at their diſtreſs. He ordered his ſoldiers to bring ſome ſkins of water, which ſerved only to enrage the appetite, and increaſe the

general

general agitation. There was no other way of conveying it through the windows but by hats, and this was rendered ineffectual by the eagerneſs and tranſports of the wretched priſoners, who at ſight of it ſtruggled and raved even into fits of delirium. In conſequence of theſe conteſts, very little reached thoſe who ſtood neareſt the windows, while the reſt, at the farther end of the priſon, were totally excluded from all relief, and continued calling upon their friends for aſſiſtance, and conjuring them by all the tender ties of pity and affection. To thoſe who were indulged, it proved pernicious; for, inſtead of allaying their thirſt, it enraged their impatience for more. The confuſion became general and horrid; all was clamour and conteſt; thoſe who were at a diſtance endeavoured to force their paſſage to the window, and the weak were preſſed down to the ground, never to riſe again. The inhuman ruffians without, derived entertainment from their miſery: they ſupplied the priſoners with more water, and held up lights cloſe to the bars that they might enjoy the inhuman pleaſure of ſeeing them fight for the baneful indulgence. Mr. Holwell ſeeing all his particular friends lying dead around him, and trampled upon by the living, finding himſelf wedged up ſo cloſe as to be deprived of all motion, begged, as the laſt inſtance of their regard, that they would remove the preſſure, and allow him to retire from the window, that he might die in quiet. Even in thoſe dreadful circumſtances, which might be ſuppoſed to have levelled all diſtinction, the poor delirious wretches manifeſted a reſpect for his rank and character: they forthwith gave way, and he forced his paſſage into the centre of the place, which was not crowded ſo much, becauſe, by this time, about one-third of the number had periſhed, and lay in little compaſs on the floor, while the reſt ſtill crowded to both windows. He retired to a platform at the farther end of the room, and laying down upon

CHAP. V. 1756.

BOOK III. 1756.

ſome of his dead friends, recommended his ſoul to heaven. Here his thirſt grew inſupportable; his difficulty in breathing increaſed, and he was ſeized with a ſtrong palpitation. Theſe violent ſymptoms, which he could not bear, urged him to make another effort: he forced his way back to the window, and cried aloud, "Water! for God's ſake!" He had been ſuppoſed already dead by his wretched companions, but finding him ſtill alive, they exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderneſs and regard to his perſon: "Give him water," they cried; nor would any of them attempt to touch it until he had drank. He now breathed more freely, and the palpitation ceaſed: but finding himſelf ſtill more thirſty after drinking, he abſtained from water, and moiſtened his mouth from time to time, by ſucking the perſpiration from his ſhirt ſleeves *. The miſerable priſoners, perceiving that water rather aggravated than relieved their diſtreſs, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their inſults to the guard, loading the Suba and his Governor with the moſt virulent reproach. From railing, they had recourſe to prayer, beſeeching heaven to put an end to their miſery. They now began to drop on all hands; but then a ſteam aroſe from the living, and the dead, as pungent and volatile as ſpirit of hartſhorn; ſo that all who could not approach the windows were ſuffocated. Mr. Holwell, being weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and ſtretched himſelf by the Rev. Mr. Jervis Bellamy, who, together with his ſon, a Lieutenant, lay dead in each other's embrace. In this ſituation he was ſoon deprived of ſenſe, and lay to all appearance dead till day broke, when his body was diſcovered, and removed by his ſurviving friends to one of the windows, where the

* In his deſpair of obtaining water, this unhappy gentleman had attempted to drink his own urine, but found it intolerably bitter; whereas the moiſture that flowed from the pores of his body was ſoft, pleaſant, and refreſhing.

freſh

fresh air revived him, and he was restored to his sight and senses. The Suba, at last, being informed that the greater part of the prisoners were suffocated, enquired if the chief was alive; and being answered in the affirmative, sent an order for their immediate release, when no more than twenty-three survived of an hundred and forty-six who had entered alive. CHAP. V. 1756.

§ XL. Nor was the late deliverance, even of these few, owing to any sentiment of compassion in the Viceroy. He had received intimation, that there was a considerable treasure secreted in the fort, and that Mr. Holwell knew the place where it was deposited. That gentleman, who, with his surviving companions, had been seized with a putrid fever, immediately upon their release, was dragged in that condition before the inhuman Suba, who questioned him about the treasure, which existed no where but in his own imagination; and would give no credit to his protestations, when he solemnly declared he knew of no such deposit. Mr. Holwell and three of his friends were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles to the Indian camp, where they lay all night, exposed to a severe rain: next morning they were brought back to town, still manacled, under the scorching beams of a sun intensely hot; and must infallibly have expired, had not nature expelled the fever in large painful boils, that covered almost the whole body. In this piteous condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal, and underwent such cruel treatment and misery in their passage, as would shock the humane reader, should he peruse the particulars. At Muxadavad they were led through the city in chains, as a spectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open stable, and treated for some days as the worst of criminals. At length, the Suba's grandmother interposed her mediation in their behalf; and as that Prince was by this time convinced that there was no treasure concealed at Calcutta, he ordered

BOOK III. 1756.

ordered them to be ſet at liberty. When ſome of his ſycophants oppoſed this indulgence, repreſenting that Mr. Holwell had ſtill enough left to pay a conſiderable ranſom, he replied with ſome marks of compunction and generoſity, "If he has any "thing left, let him keep it: his ſufferings have "been great: he ſhall have his liberty." Mr. Holwell and his friends were no ſooner unfettered, than they took water from the Dutch Tankſall or mint, in the neighbourhood of that city, where they were received with great tenderneſs and humanity. The reader, we hope, will excuſe us for having thus particularized a tranſaction ſo intereſting and extraordinary in all its circumſtances. The Suba having deſtroyed Calcutta, and diſperſed the inhabitants, extorted large ſums from the French and Dutch factories, that he might diſplay a ſpirit of impartiality againſt all the Europeans, even in his oppreſſion, and returned to his city of Muxadavad in triumph. By the reduction of Calcutta, the Engliſh Eaſt-India company's affairs were ſo much embroile[d] in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing coul[d] have retrieved them but the interpoſition of a nati[o]nal force, and the good fortune of a Clive, whoſ[e] enterprizes were always crowned with ſucceſs.

§ XLI. As the Engliſh Eaſt-India company had for a whole century, been at a conſiderable expenc[e] in maintaining a marine force at Bombay, to pro[tect] their ſhips from the piracies of the Angrias, wh[o] had rendered themſelves independent Princes, an[d] fortified Geriah in that neighbourhood; many unſucceſsful attempts had been made to deſtroy their naval power, and reduce the fortreſs, under which they always took ſhelter. In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four, the fleet of Tullagee Angria, the reigning Prince, attacked three Dutch ſhips of force, which they either took or deſtroyed. Elated with this ſucceſs, he boaſted that he ſhould in a little time ſweep the ſeas of the Europeans, and

began

began to build ſome large ſhips, to reinforce his grabs and gallivats, which were the veſſels on which he had formerly depended. Next year his neighbours, the Mahrattas, having ſignified to the preſidency at Bombay, that they were diſpoſed to join in the neceſſary ſervice of humbling this common enemy, ſo formidable to the whole Malabar coaſt, Commodore James was detached with ſome ſhips of force to attack Angria, in conjunction with thoſe allies. They accordingly joined him with ſeven grabs and ſixty gallivats. They proceeded to the harbour of Severndroog, where Angria's fleet lay at anchor: but they no ſooner received intelligence of his approach, than they ſlipped their cables, and ſtood out to ſea. He chaſed them with all the canvaſs he could carry; but their veſſels being lighter than his, they eſcaped; and he returned to Severndroog, which is a fortreſs ſituated on an iſland within muſket ſhot of the main land, ſtrongly, but irregularly fortified, and mounted with fifty-four pieces of cannon. There were three other ſmall forts on the continent, the largeſt of which was called Goa. On the ſecond day of April, the Commodore began to batter and bombard the iſland, fort, and fort Goa, at the ſame time. That of Severndroog was ſet on fire; one of the magazines blew up: a general conflagration enſued; the garriſon were overwhelmed with fire and confuſion; the Engliſh ſeamen landed under cover of the fire from the ſhips, and took the place by ſtorm with very little loſs. The other forts were immediately ſurrendered, and all of theſe, by treaty, delivered to the Mahrattas. On the eighth of April, the Commodore anchored off Bancote, now called Fort Victoria, one of the moſt northern parts of Angria's dominion, which ſurrendered without oppoſition, and ſtill remains in the hands of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, by the conſent of the Mahrattas. The harbour is good, and here is a great

BOOK III. 1756.

a great trade for ſalt and other commodities ſent hither from Bombay.

§ XLII. It was in November following, that the ſquadron under Admiral Watſon arrived at Bombay, where it was reſolved to give Angria the finiſhing ſtroke, ſtill in conjunction with the Marhattas. Mean while Commodore James was ſent to reconnoitre Geriah, the capital of his dominions, and to ſound the depth of the harbour; a ſervice which he ſucceſsfully performed. The Admiral being joined by a diviſion of ſhips, fitted out at the Company's expence, having on board a body of troops commanded by Colonel Clive, ſailed on the ſeventh day of February, and found in the neighbourhood of Geriah the Mahratta fleet, conſiſting of four grabs, and forty ſmaller veſſels, called gallivats, lying to the northward of the place, in a creek called Rajipore; and a land-army of horſe and foot, amounting to ſeven or eight thouſand men, the whole commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already taken one ſmall fort, and was actually treating about the ſurrender of Geriah. Angria himſelf had quitted the place, but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law; who, being ſummoned to ſurrender by a meſſage from the Admiral, replied, that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity. In conſequence of this refuſal, the whole Engliſh fleet in two diviſions, ſailed on the twelfth day of February into the harbour, and ſuſtained a warm fire from the enemy's batteries as they paſſed, as well as from the grabs poſted in the harbour for that purpoſe: this, however, was ſoon ſilenced after the ſhips were brought to their ſtations, ſo as to return the ſalutation. Between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, a ſhell being thrown into one of Angria's armed veſſels, ſet her on fire; and the flames communicating to the reſt, they were all deſtroyed: between ſix and ſeven the fort was ſet on fire by another ſhell; and ſoon after the firing ceaſed on

on both ſides. The Admiral, ſuſpecting that the Governor of the place would ſurrender it to the Mahrattas rather than to the Engliſh, diſembarked all the troops under Mr. Clive, that he might be at hand, in caſe of emergency, to take poſſeſſion. In the mean time, the fort was bombarded; the line of battle ſhips were warped near enough to batter in breach; and then the Admiral ſent an officer, with a flag of truce to the Governor, requiring him to ſurrender. His propoſal being again rejected, the Engliſh ſhips renewed their fire next day with redoubled vigour. About one o'clock the magazine of the fort blew up, and at four the garriſon hung out a white flag for capitulation. The parley that enſued proving ineffectual, the engagement began again, and continued till fifteen minutes after five; when the white flag was again diſplayed, and now the Governor ſubmitted to the terms which were impoſed. Angria's flag was immediately hauled down; and two Engliſh Captains taking poſſeſſion of the fort with a detachment, forthwith hoiſted the Britiſh enſign. To theſe Captains, whoſe names were Buchannan and Forbes, the Mahrattas offered a bribe of fifty thouſand rupees, if they would allow them to paſs their guards, that they might take poſſeſſion of the fort for themſelves; but this offer was rejected with diſdain, and immediately diſcloſed to Colonel Clive, who took effectual meaſures to fruſtrate their deſign. In this place, which was reduced with very inconſiderable loſs, the conquerors found above two hundred cannon, ſix braſs mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, with money and effects to the value of one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds. The fleet which was deſtroyed conſiſted of eight grabs, one ſhip finiſhed, two upon the ſtocks, and a good number of gallivats. Among the priſoners, the Admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, toward whom he demeaned himſelf with great humanity. Three hundred European

BOOK III. 1756.

ropean soldiers and as many sepoys, were left to guard the fort; and four of the Company's armed vessels remained in the harbour for the defence of the place, which was extremely well situated for commerce *.

§ XLIII. The Admiral and Mr. Clive sailed back to Madras in triumph, and there another plan was formed for restoring the Company's affairs upon the Ganges, recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel Viceroy of Bengal. In October they set sail again for the bottom of the Bay; and about the beginning of December arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal. Having crossed the Braces, they proceeded up the river Ganges as far as Falta, where they found Governor Drake, and the other persons who had escaped on board of the ships when Calcutta was invested. Colonel Clive was disembarked with his forces to attack the fort of Busbudgia by land, while the Admiral battered it by sea: but the place being ill provided with cannon, did not hold out above an hour after the firing began. This conquest being atchieved at a very easy purchase, two of the great ships anchored between Tanny fort and a battery on the other side of the river, which were abandoned before one shot was discharged against either; thus the passage was laid open to Calcutta, the reduction of which we shall record among the transactions of the ensuing year.

* When the Admiral entered their apartment, the whole family shedding floods of tears fell with their faces to the ground; from which being raised, the mother of Angria, told him, in a piteous tone, the people had no king, she no son, her daughter no husband, their children no father. The Admiral replying, "they must look upon him as their father and their friend;" the youngest boy, about six years of age, seised him by the hand, and sobbing exclaimed, "then you shall be my father." Mr. Watson was so affected with this pathetic address, that the tears trickled down his cheeks, while he assured them they might depend upon his protection and friendship.

END OF VOL. III.